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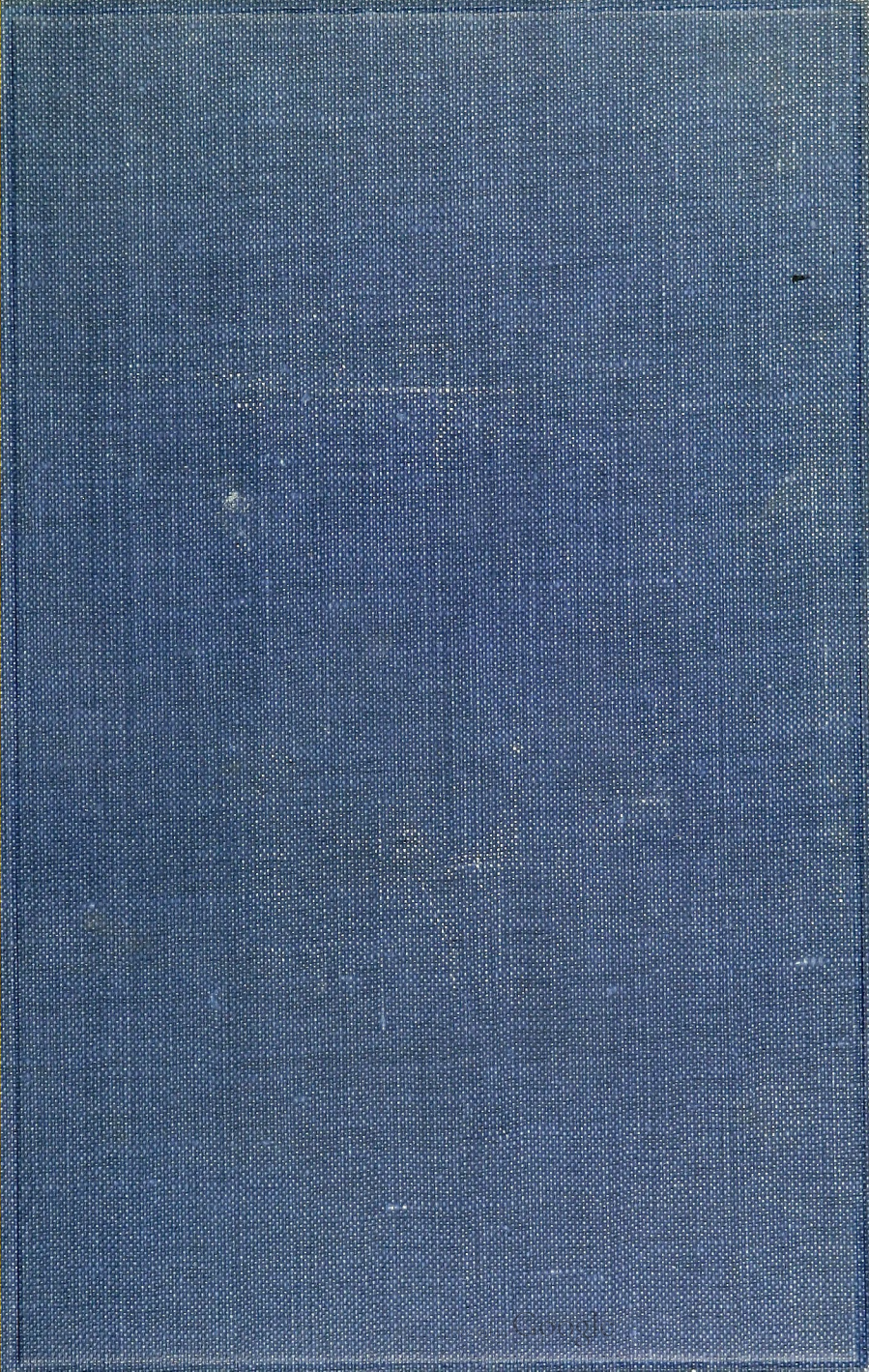
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ADAMNANI  
VITA S. COLUMBAE

EDITED FROM DR. REEVES'S TEXT

*WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON EARLY IRISH  
CHURCH HISTORY  
NOTES AND A GLOSSARY*

BY

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A NEW EDITION, REVISED

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## PREFACE

### TO THE FIRST EDITION, REVISED

ADAMNAN'S *Life of St. Columba* is not a 'Life' in the ordinary sense, but rather, as described in the colophon, *virtutum libelli Columbae*, three books recording respectively the prophecies, the miracles, and the angelic visions of the saint. The author, however, aimed at hagiology, not at biography or history. Nevertheless his work is full of allusions throwing great light on early Celtic monasticism, and on the introduction of Christianity into the western and northern parts of what is now called Scotland. Dr. Reeves has collected hundreds of references to passages bearing upon the constitution, the discipline, the buildings, and the officers of St. Columba's monastery at Iona and upon the topography of that most interesting little island. Attention will be directed to many of these in the present edition, which is intended principally for the use of junior students in our Universities or elsewhere, to whom the well-nigh exhaustive work of the late Bishop Reeves is scarcely accessible in any of the forms in which it has appeared. His notes, introductions, &c., have furnished much of the information here given, though by no means the whole of it. A brief sketch of the history of the Irish Church and of the Columban mission down to the death of Adamnan is prefixed, and a glossary is appended.

There are two recensions of the text, the longer or original *Life*, and the shorter, which is abridged from it.

The following are the seven MSS. which furnished Dr. Reeves with his collection of various readings, extracts from which will be given in these pages.

- A<sup>1</sup>. Beginning of eighth century, formerly at the monastery of Reichenau, now in the public library at Schaffhausen. Attributed in the colophon to Dorbhene, who is identified by Reeves with Dorbhene, abbot of Iona, who died 713, only nine years after the death of Adamnan. Facsimiles in Reeves (1857), Plates 1, 2, 3. The basis of Reeves's text, in which, however, the original spelling has not been followed, as being 'barbarous, or at least provincial'. Its characteristics may be gathered from Reeves (1857), xvii-xix, and from the various readings given by him. There is a great similarity between this MS. and that of the 'Antiphonary' of Bangor (A.D. 680-91) published in facsimile by the Henry Bradshaw Society. See Warren's Introduction to it, p. xxvi.
- B<sup>1</sup>. Middle of fifteenth century. Brit. Mus. *Bibl. Reg.* 8 D. ix.
- C<sup>2</sup>. The Windberg or Rebendorf MS., from which Canisius took his text.
- D<sup>2</sup>. Thirteenth century. In the so-called 'Book of Kilkenny', in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, v. 3. 4. For a full description of the 'Codex Kilkenniensis' see Plummer's *Vitae SS. Hib.* pp. xi ff.
- F<sup>2</sup>. Tenth century; formerly belonged to the Church of Freising; was numbered 141, and is now in the Royal Library of Munich, 6341. Facsimile in Reeves (1857), Pl. 4.
- S<sup>2</sup>. Early ninth century, in Library of St. Gall, No. 555. Facsimile of writing in Reeves (1857), Pl. 4, and of figure of St. Columba (with the Roman tonsure), Pl. 5.
- Cott.<sup>1</sup> Cottonianus. Late twelfth century. Brit. Mus. *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius* D. iii. Much damaged in the fire of 1731, being 'burnt to a crust', but restored as far as possible by the separation, flattening, and inlaying of the consolidated leaves, under the direction of Sir Frederick Madden, c. 1852.

Five others were reported to exist; see Reeves, xxxi.

The printed editions that have appeared are the following:—

- I. In the *Thesaurus sive Antiquae Lectiones* of Canisius, Ingolst. 1604. See MS. C. An unsatisfactory text.
- II. In Surii *Vitae SS.* 1617, Jun. 9.
- III. In the *Florilegium* of Thomas Messingham, who reprinted the Canisian text. Parisiis, 1624.
- IV. In the *Trias Thaumaturga* of John Colgan, from Cod. A. Lovanii, 1647.
- V. In the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, also from Cod. A, but less faithfully given. *Acta SS. Junii*, tom. ii, Jun. 9.

<sup>1</sup> The full recension.

<sup>2</sup> The short recension.

- VI. In Basnage's ed. of *Canisii Thesaurus*, as a reprint of the defective text of Canisius. Amstelaedami, 1725 (some copies have *Antverpiae*).
- VII. In Pinkerton's *Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum*, Lond. 1789, and Paisley, 1889, 2 Vols. and a Vol. of translations, 1894.
- VIII. For the first time in a separate form, as 'The Life of St. Columba, founder of Hy, written by Adamnan, ninth abbot of that monastery . . . (with notes and dissertations) by William Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A. . . . Dublin: printed at the University Press, for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1857'. Founded upon Codex A. Two maps, five plates of facsimiles, two genealogical tables. 4to, pp. lxxx and 497.
- IX. The same, somewhat abridged and re-arranged, with some topographical notes by Dr. W. F. Skene, and a translation superintended by the late Bishop Forbes. In the series of *Historians of Scotland*, of which it forms Vol. vi. Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, ? 1871, re-issue 1874. One map, one genealogical table. 8vo, pp. clxxxiv and 385. Also issued by the Bannatyne Club, with Special Title-page &c. 1857.
- X. In Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 88. 725.
- XI. In the re-issue of Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, edited by W. M. Metcalfe. Paisley, 1889, i. 73 (220 copies only).
- XII. The former edition of the present work, in which Dr. Reeves's text has been adopted, with only slight variations, as *famen* for *tamen*, III. iii n., *caelum* for *calum*, &c., and in the punctuation. In words the spelling of which varies, that recommended by Brambach (*Hilfsbüchlein für lateinische Rechtschreibung*, Leipzig, 1884) has been adopted.
- XIII. The present edition, being No. XII revised.

Dr. Reeves gives a list of seven other Lives of St. Columba, the most important of which are :—

- I. The Life by Cummene or Cummian referred to by Adamnan in Book iii. c. 5 (where see note), which Life forms the basis of this third book, and of some chapters in Books i, ii. In this edition the passages taken from Cummian are printed in bold type. Cummian's Life has been printed by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* 321-4; in Pinkerton (1889) i. 50, and elsewhere. It has been supposed that the text of Cummian, as printed, cannot have been used by Adamnan, but is an abridgement of his Life. See Hardy, *Desc. Catal.* p. 167.
- II. The first part of Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (*Tr. Th.* 325-7), wrongly attributed by him to Cummian, which contains some particulars that are in the old Irish Life, but are not recorded by Adamnan. Colgan's *Vita Secunda* was taken by

him from the MS. now printed as *Acta SS. Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi*. Edinb. et Lond. 1888, cols. 845-70.

III. An ancient Irish memoir, probably of the tenth century, being a discourse of St. Columba's day on the text *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua*, &c. Frequently referred to by Reeves, and in the present edition, as 'the old Irish Life'. In the Leabhar Breac or Speckled Book, in the Book of Lismore, and in a MS. at the Advocates' Library. Translation by Hennessy in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 467-507. The Leabhar Breac has been published in facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy, folio, 1876; the Homily on Columba occupies pp. 29-34 of the facsimile. The Homily was printed by Whitley Stokes with translation in *Three Middle-Irish Homilies* . . . Calcutta, 1877 (100 copies, privately printed). A translation by W. M. Hennessy is given as an appendix to the second volume of Skene's *Celtic Scotland*. Two other recensions of this Homily were used by Hennessy, one in the Book of Lismore, the other in MS. XL in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. They contain some additional matter. The former was printed with translation by Whitley Stokes in *Lives of Saints* from the Book of Lismore (Oxford, 1890), and extracts from the latter are given in the notes.

IV. An expansion of Adamnan and of the old Irish Life, written in Irish by Manus O'Donnell in 1532. The compiler has worked in a number of historical allusions from Adamnan's other works, some alleged prophecies, and other legendary matter. Colgan has summarized it, omitting 'disedifying' passages, in *Trias Thaumaturga, Quinta Vita S. Columbae*, pp. 389-446.

In addition to these may be mentioned a Life by John of Tynemouth (fl. 1366) pirated by Capgrave, the Office in the Aberdeen Breviary, and a Life printed by Benedict Gonon (Lugduni, 1625), all compiled or abridged from Adamnan. See further in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue* of MSS. relating to British History, i. 166-74. There is a new translation by myself (Henry Frowde, 1898), one published by Kelly, Dublin (new ed. 1875), and another, with notes and illustrations, by Wentworth Huyshe (Routledge, n.d.).

Modern Lives will be found in Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Bk. ix, and in Alban Butler and Baring-Gould under June 9 (the latter condensed from Montalembert); in O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Saints*, in Bishop Lightfoot's *Leaders of the Northern Church*, in Reeves's *Adamnan* (1857),

lxviii–lxxx ; the same (1874), xxxiii–xli ; Healy's *Insula Sanctorum*, 291–331 ; Dictionaries of Christian Biography and of National Biography ; and in the Rev. E. A. Cooke's *Life and Work of St. Columba*, London and Derby, 1888. A short account, moreover, is included in the Introduction to the present work. The Life by Dr. John Smith, Edinb. 1798, is not of much value.

I cannot conclude this preface without again saying how very much I am indebted to Dr. Reeves's original edition of Adamnan, a truly monumental work, which has been of the greatest service to all writers on St. Columba from Montalembert downward. In this connexion I would refer to the Life of Dr. Reeves by Lady Ferguson, which includes a complete list of his printed works and articles. Nor can I forego the pleasure of expressing my best thanks to all who have helped me by their friendly counsel during my editorial labours. My thanks are due to the Rev. Archibald Macmillan, Parish Minister at Iona, who gave me the benefit of his sympathetic companionship and of his great local knowledge when I last visited Iona, and to the Rev. Charles Plummer, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who has kindly helped me to explain some Irish words, and in other ways.

BISHOP HATFIELD'S HALL, DURHAM,

June 9, 1894. (Revised, May 1915. Also 1919–20.)

# PREFACE

## TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE former edition of this work being now exhausted, I have revised it carefully in preparation for a new edition. With this object, the insets have been taken out, and some few passages and quotations in the notes have been omitted. It is hoped, however, that the absence of these will be compensated for by the introduction of many matters of detail, including a great number of new or better references. Since 1894 some works of great importance, bearing on the subject, have been published, and of these I have made considerable use. I may mention especially Professor Bury's *Life of St. Patrick* (1905), Mr. Plummer's *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* with its invaluable Introduction (1910), and Dr. Gwynn's monumental edition of the *Book of Armagh* (1913). My new edition of *Adamnan* will be substantially the same as the earlier one, but, I venture to think, considerably improved. Four of those friends whose help I acknowledged in 1894 have since passed away, two are now far removed by distance and absorbing occupations. But I wish again to acknowledge the kind help of the Rev. Charles Plummer, in putting some things right, and answering inquiries on matters which he has made so completely his own.

BISHOP HATFIELD'S HALL, DURHAM,

June 1915.

The printing of this edition has been held over during the War, in consequence of the depletion in the staff at the Clarendon Press, and the necessity for much unusual work.

J. T. F.

WINTERTON, LINCOLNSHIRE,

March 1920.



# CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION :—

### CHAPTER I

|                                | PAGE |
|--------------------------------|------|
| Pre-Patrician Period . . . . . | 13   |

### CHAPTER II

|                       |    |
|-----------------------|----|
| St. Patrick . . . . . | 22 |
|-----------------------|----|

### CHAPTER III

|                                                                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Saints of the Patrician Period, and the 'Three Orders'<br>of Irish Saints . . . . . | 30 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

### CHAPTER IV

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Irish Monasticism . . . . . | 32 |
|-----------------------------|----|

### CHAPTER V

|                            |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| Monastic Schools . . . . . | 45 |
|----------------------------|----|

### CHAPTER VI

|                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| Columba in Ireland . . . . . | 50 |
|------------------------------|----|

### CHAPTER VII

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Columba in Iona . . . . . | 58 |
|---------------------------|----|

### CHAPTER VIII

|                                                     |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----|
| Columba's successors, up to and including Adamnan . | 69 |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----|

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| AUTHORITIES CITED . . . . . | 78 |
|-----------------------------|----|

|                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| GENEALOGICAL TABLE . . . . . | 83 |
|------------------------------|----|

## VITA SANCTI COLUMBAE:—

|                                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Praefatio I . . . . .                             | 85  |
| Praefatio II . . . . .                            | 85  |
| Primi Libri Capitulationes . . . . .              | 88  |
| Primi Libri Textus, de Prophetis Revelationibus . | 90  |
| Capitula Secundi Libri . . . . .                  | 123 |
| Liber Secundus, de Virtutum Miraculis . . .       | 126 |
| Capitula Tertii Libri . . . . .                   | 163 |
| Tertius Liber, de Angelicis Visionibus . . . .    | 165 |
| NOTES . . . . .                                   | 189 |
| GLOSSARY . . . . .                                | 237 |
| SCRIPTURE TEXTS . . . . .                         | 244 |
| ADDENDA, 1920 . . . . .                           | 245 |
| GENERAL INDEX . . . . .                           | 250 |

# INTRODUCTION

## I. PRE-PATRICIAN PERIOD

§ 1. *Early Christianity.* We know comparatively little of Christianity in Ireland before the fifth century, in Scotland before the sixth, or in England before the seventh. But from the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland *c.* 432, of St. Columba in Scotland in 563, of St. Augustine in Kent in 597, and of St. Aidan at Lindisfarne in 635, we have fairly consecutive accounts of the progress of the Church in these islands. In Wales and in Cornwall, and indeed at Glastonbury, the ancient British Christianity was still living on when the tide of Anglo-Saxon Christianity reached thus far westward. The work of St. Ninian and others had left some fruit in parts of Scotland when Irish Christianity began to spread from Iona, as from a new centre, into all parts of northern Britain.

§ 2. *In Ireland.* But it is with Ireland that we are mainly concerned in connexion with St. Columba, for he was born in Ireland, and he lived in Ireland until, at the age of forty-two, he went out from his own country and from his father's house, to end his life's work in another land. In order to understand his life and mission, we ought to know something of the early history of his country, of the traditions in which he was brought up. We propose, then, first to state some of the peculiar circumstances in which the first Christian missionaries in Ireland found themselves, and then to give a brief sketch of Irish Church history to the death of Adamnan.

§ 3. *Britain and Ireland compared.* One great difference between Ireland in the earlier centuries after the Christian era was this, that while Britain was an integral portion of the great Roman Empire, Ireland was not. Hence in early Christian times the decrees of Emperors and Councils did not run in Ireland, nor was it very greatly affected by Roman civilization.<sup>1</sup> Britain and Ireland were distinguished

<sup>1</sup> On this point, however, see Bury, ch. vi.

in the fifth century, and doubtless long before, as 'the Roman Island' and 'the barbarous island'.<sup>1</sup> Britain, indeed, became very largely influenced, first by Roman, and then by Teutonic occupation and institutions, while Ireland remained, during the period with which we are concerned, purely Celtic. And in her missionary work the Church moulded her organizations as far as possible on those which she found already existing. In England, for example, where the dioceses and parishes are founded on the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and on their minor subdivisions, our system has been from the first essentially territorial. In Ireland the early monastic and missionary system was almost from the first a part of the ancient clan system, to which it readily adapted itself.

§ 4. *Early monasticism and the clan system.* It was necessary at the very first that the life of the converts should be in some sort coenobitic; they could hardly have lived otherwise in a pagan and half-savage land. And these earliest Christian communities were in many cases the beginnings of societies which afterwards became more strictly monastic, importations in fact, through Gaul, of Egyptian and Syrian monachism into the clan system that had prevailed for centuries in Ireland, the spirit of which pervaded the ancient Irish Church throughout the whole period of its independent existence. Many of the earliest converts were persons who had been redeemed from servitude by the missionaries, who were supplied from abroad with funds for the purpose. But the evangelization of Ireland was not quite that earliest Christian work of all, in which 'not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called'. The Celtic missionaries aimed at the conversion of the petty kings or chieftains at the heads of the clans, and of their Druids and Bards, knowing that if once these could be secured, the clansmen would follow their leaders in religion as in all else.<sup>2</sup> Their old religion had no great

<sup>1</sup> Prosper of Aquitaine, *Contra Collatorem*, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. li, col. 271.

<sup>2</sup> 'To a clannish people it is not merely a habit, but a matter of necessity, to follow a guide—to be led by a superior and unquestionable authority. They care not for arguments, proofs, or reasons. They ask only to receive a command from a chieftain, whose right to command nobody can dream of questioning. It is not too much to say that this spirit of clanship is the key to Irish history.'—Todd's *St. Patrick*, 1864, p. 227.

hold on the common people, and in many cases, no doubt, the new doctrine would have as little. Nevertheless, the pagan life of the country was transformed into a Christian life, with comparatively little organic change.

§ 5. *Subordination of the bishops.* The Christian hierarchy, in which the bishops, though always felt to be absolutely essential, held a very subordinate rank, in some sort succeeded to the Druids and the Brehons; the pagan Bards became Christian Bards, and the main peculiarities in the Irish monastic tenure of land arose out of the ancient relations between chieftains and clansmen. When land was granted to any ecclesiastic by its original owner, the rights of chieftainry were transferred to the ecclesiastical landlord, and descended, as before, in hereditary succession. The comarb or co-arb (says Dr. Todd),<sup>1</sup> that is to say, the heir or successor of the original saint who was the founder of the religious society, whether bishop or abbot, became the inheritor of his spiritual and official influence in religious matters. The descendants in blood, or 'founder's kin', were inheritors of the temporal rights of property and chieftainship, although bound to exercise those rights in subjection or subordination to the ecclesiastical co-arb, that is, to the successor inheriting the lands that had been granted to the first in the series of abbots or bishops, heir also to his ecclesiastical status and temporal rights.

§ 6. *Three learned 'orders' in pagan times.* Previous to the introduction of Christianity,<sup>2</sup> there were three classes of learned men among the Celtic tribes of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, namely, the Druids, the Bards, and the Brehons. It seems probable that these were the result of a gradual subdivision of labour, the Bards being first distinguished from the Druids, and afterwards the Brehons from the Bards. These orders, if indeed they were distinct orders, were not hereditary;<sup>3</sup> they corresponded in the main with what are called 'the professional classes' among ourselves.

§ 7. *The Druids.* Caesar, who had abundant opportunity of knowing about the Druids of Gaul, tells us a great deal about them, but how far his account would apply to those

<sup>1</sup> *St. Patrick*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> On Pre-Christian Ireland see Olden, *Church of Ireland*, ch. 1.

<sup>3</sup> In later ages the legal profession tended to become hereditary in certain families. Joyce, *Hist.* 40.

of Ireland we do not know. Those of Gaul were at any rate concerned with religion and sacrifices, with legal decisions, and also in the instruction of youth. Their system was found in Britain, and was thought to have been brought thence into Gaul. They were excused from military service and from tribute, and accordingly many youths sought admission into the order. They taught the immortality and transmigration of souls, and thus excited men to deeds of valour and disregard of death. They offered human sacrifices, sometimes having huge images woven of osiers, the limbs of which they filled with living men to be burnt alive, criminals if to be had, but if not, innocent persons.<sup>1</sup> Pliny gives a minute account of the ceremonies with which they cut the mistletoe from the sacred oak, and of the virtues which they attributed to it, calling it by a name which meant 'All-heal'. From their great reverence for oak groves, and their association of these with sacred rites, he thinks the name 'Druid' may be derived, the name of the oak being *δρῦς* in Greek<sup>2</sup>; it is however Celtic.<sup>3</sup> He tells also of their ceremonial gathering of the herbs *selago* and *samolus*,<sup>4</sup> and gives a not very intelligible and to some extent clearly fabulous account of their doings with the *anguinum* (sc. *ovum*) or snake's egg, not apparently an actual egg, but a perforated stone.<sup>5</sup> Also, after speaking of magical arts in Gaul, he says that they continued within living memory, but that the rule of Tiberius abolished their Druids and all that race of soothsayers and medicine-men.<sup>6</sup> Tacitus refers to their vain and superstitious songs,<sup>7</sup> and describes a momentary panic among the Roman soldiers invading Mona (Anglesey) caused by women rushing about with torches, and Druids with hands upraised to heaven, putting up dire supplications.<sup>8</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 13, 14, 16. The whole account is most interesting, and should be consulted.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 44, § 95.

<sup>3</sup> Irish *druí*, *draoi*, augur, magician. The Druids are often called *magi* both in classical and in Christian writings. In connexion with Druidical groves, it is remarkable how many of the earliest Irish Christian settlements, as Derry, Durrow, and Kildare, began at groves of oak, and took their names from them, *daire* being the old Irish word for oak wood.

<sup>4</sup> *H. N.* xxiv. 11, §§ 62, 63. The plants referred to are, perhaps, the *Lycopodium Selago* or Fir Club-moss, and the *Samolus Valerandi* or Water Pimpernel. See Elton, *Origins of Eng. Hist.* (1890), 253.

<sup>5</sup> *H. N.* xxix. 3, § 12. See *Engl. Dial. Dict.* under *adder-stone*.

<sup>6</sup> *H. N.* xxx. 1, § 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist.* iv. 54.

<sup>8</sup> *Ann.* xiv. 29, 30.

remarkable how little there is, almost nothing, about Druids in the writings of the early Christian fathers; but in early Irish poems and legends, and in lives of Irish Saints, they are frequently referred to,<sup>1</sup> mostly as magicians or sorcerers, also as worshipping idols, paying idolatrous worship to springs of water, making use of the yew, the rowan-tree, and the blackthorn in the ordeal by fire, &c. But there seems to be some doubt whether they were, in Ireland at any rate, a distinct order. They were often engaged in teaching, and kings and chiefs, as well as learned men, were frequently Druids. They appear to have worshipped idolatrous objects, the elements, and the heavenly bodies, to have practised magical rites, and to have offered human sacrifices.<sup>2</sup> All reference to the Druids was carefully expunged from the ancient laws of Ireland when they were revised in early Christian times. They continued, however, to live on, perhaps as little more than mere conjurors and wizards, in some remote districts, down to the eighth century, and it is thought that their influence long survived in the Celtic church, and even survives to this day in some of the superstitions of the peasantry.<sup>3</sup> That idolatry was by no means extinct when the Stowe Missal was drawn up (ninth or tenth century) might at first sight appear from a petition for the founder of some church, that he and all the people might be delivered *ab idulorum cultura*.<sup>4</sup> The form, however, may be very much earlier.

§ 8. *The Bards*. The Bards<sup>5</sup> (*carminatores*) were the poets and chroniclers, who related events and legendary or historical stories, probably, as a rule, in verse and with musical recitation and accompaniment, as Diodorus says they did in Gaul.<sup>6</sup> They eulogized the friends and satirized<sup>7</sup> the foes of their chief and clan, and always looked for

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in the present work. See Index, s.v. *Magi*; Colg. *Acta SS.* 149, 15.

<sup>2</sup> St. Patrick, in his Confession, refers to 'those who worship the sun', and on relics of sun-worship see Plummer, I. cxxxiii. ff., and notes. For a very full *catena* of references to Druids in ancient Irish writings see O'Curry, *Manners*, &c., ii. 179-228; Plummer, II. 573, and for a summary, Joyce, *Hist.* 137-9.

<sup>3</sup> See Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1860, vol. i. p. 152 n.

<sup>4</sup> Warren, pp. 236, 260.

<sup>5</sup> Old Celtic *bardo-s*, whence *βάρδος*, *bardus*, a minstrel poet.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist.* lib. v. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. O'Curry, *Manners*, &c., ii. 70, 216, 217.

rewards. There was no essential antagonism to Christianity in their order, nor was it broken up in any way thereby. They simply became Christian instead of pagan, and 'when once blessed and transformed, their songs became so sweet that the angels of God leaned down from heaven to listen to them'.<sup>1</sup> In St. Columba's time they had become very unpopular by reason of their grasping importunity and their overwhelming numbers. They had free quarters wherever they went, and were envied on account of this and other privileges. About A.D. 575 a famous convention<sup>2</sup> was held at Drumceatt, one main object of which was the abolition of the bards. St. Columba, who, it has been thought, may have been himself of their number, was a relation of King Aedh, and one of the most influential persons in the kingdom. He favoured reform, not abolition; he defended the order while condemning abuses. He called attention to their valuable services in preserving the national records and traditions, and finally carried the assembly with him. The Bards were saved, but reformed. Their privileges were curtailed, and their numbers, amounting, it is said, to about a third of the population, were diminished. Their retainers,<sup>3</sup> who had always been a great burden on the public, were either abolished, or at any rate maintained by their masters, who now had certain lands assigned to them in lieu of their former privileges. Thus they became shorn of much of their early importance. Nevertheless the chief bard, Dallan Forghaill, in gratitude to Columba, composed a poem in his honour called the *Amhra Coluimcille*, still extant, in very ancient and obscure Irish. In the Middle Ages, every district had its Bard and its Brehon, and the office of Bard was hereditary. In the Book of Mac Firbis (A.D. 1650) is a list of those who had flourished within the last 600 years, with the districts to which they belonged.<sup>4</sup> The Christian bards continued to live on through century after century of gradual decadence, until, in the present reign, their last representatives were reduced, in the gene-

<sup>1</sup> Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Engl. ed. 1861, ii. 392. See also the quotation from Keble below, in a note on Book II, cap. xlv, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Adamnan, I. xlix, II. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Thirty for an *Ollamh* or chief bard, fifteen for an *Anrot*, one of the second class.

<sup>4</sup> See Petrie on the Book of Mac Firbis, Trans. R. I. A., vol. xviii, *Antiquities*, p. 5.



ral ruin of the national literature of Ireland, to a chair by the kitchen fire in winter, and a meal on the doorstep in summer.<sup>1</sup>

§ 9. *The Brehons.* The Brehons<sup>2</sup> or judges were an order which grew out of that of the Bards. At first the laws were in the form of rhythmical maxims transmitted orally, but afterwards committed to writing. Those who had the charge and administration of these laws formed a distinct order, but sometimes the same man was both Bard and Brehon. A Christian redaction of the ancient laws of Ireland has been preserved under the names of *Senchus Mór* (Great Antiquity), *Cain Patraic* (Patrick's Law) and *Noifis* (Knowledge of Nine). In the *Senchus* itself it is stated that its 'authors', i.e. redactors, in St. Patrick's time were three kings, three ecclesiastics, and three men of science,<sup>3</sup>

Laeghaire, Core, Dairi, the hardy,  
Patrick, Benen, Cairnech, the just,  
Rossa, Dubhthach, Ferghus, with science.  
These were the nine pillars of the *Senchus Mor*.

The laws thus laid down and revised from time to time, with the old Irish commentaries upon them, have been published with introductions and translations,<sup>4</sup> and enable us to see what sort of enactments the Brehons administered. They continued the exercise of judicial functions beyond the limits of the English pale, until the reign of Elizabeth, when the power of the native chieftains was finally broken, and English law was established throughout the kingdom.

§ 10. *The 'Three Orders' and the Church.* Now the Druids, Bards, and Brehons, were all flourishing at the time of the effectual introduction of Christianity into Ireland, and all were affected by it, as we have seen. The Druids could not, of course, become Christians without effacing themselves as Druids, but there was no reason why the other two orders should not go on as Christian

<sup>1</sup> Dict. of National Biography, Art. *Columba*, p. 411; cp. O'Curry, *Manners*, &c., iii. 406; Derricke, *Image of Ireland*, 55, 109.

<sup>2</sup> From the Old Irish *brithem*, a judge.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that the ancient Roman laws were made conformable to Christian doctrine and morality, and issued as the 'Theodosian Code,' only a few years previously (A.D. 438). The Salic law was a similar revision of the pagan laws of the Franks, made early in the same century.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vols. i-vi. Brehon Law Commission Office. Dublin, 1865-1901.

poets, judges, lawyers, and men of letters, as in fact they did, retaining their ancient titles, and little changed in anything but their religion.<sup>1</sup> Some of the authority of the Druids naturally passed on to the abbots and bishops, who from the first would find that they had to deal with men of cultivated minds, sharpened by study, capable of taking in new ideas, often quick to recognize the beauty and value of Christian teaching, and prepared to accept it in preference to their ancient mythology, venerable as that must have been in their eyes.<sup>2</sup>

§ II. *Christians before St. Patrick.* That there were some Christians in Ireland, or of Irish birth, before the coming of St. Patrick, appears from various passages in Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils*, &c.,<sup>3</sup> in which they are mentioned. The Druids must have had some knowledge of Christian customs if their 'prophecy' of the coming of St. Patrick, recorded in Muirchu's and the Tripartite Lives be genuine. It is to the following effect:—

Adzehead<sup>4</sup> will come over a furious sea;  
His mantle head-holed, his staff crook-headed,  
His dish (paten) in the east of his house.  
All his household shall answer Amen, Amen.  
Adzeheads will come, who will build cities,  
Who will consecrate churches, pinnaced music-houses,  
Many conical caps (for belfries) a realm round croziers.

The British Church of the fourth century, as Dr. G. T. Stokes observes, 'proved its interest in theological questions by the most vigorous and satisfactory of proofs. It produced a heretic'.<sup>5</sup> Pelagius, the founder of the Pelagian heresy, was a Briton named Morgan, a contemplative stu-

<sup>1</sup> Sedulius, the Christian poet, has been claimed as an early Christian bard of Ireland by some who have confounded him with an Irish theologian of the same name who lived in the eighth century (*Dict. of Hymnology*, 1037; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 291 n.).

<sup>2</sup> See O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. ii. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II, Part ii, pp. 289-91; Olden, 9, 24. It is to be observed that in writings of this period the Irish are denoted by the term *Scoti*. See Praef. II, notes on p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Or, Latherhead; both nicknames might refer to the Celtic tonsure. See below, ch. iv. § 6, note. The germ of the prediction may very well have been an apprehension of Christian missions. The above translation is from the Irish. In the Latin version of Muirchu, which is much the earlier, the third line is 'Incantabit nefas a sua mensa ex anteriore parte domus suae'. Stokes, *Trip.* 274; Gwynn, 4; Colg. *T. T.* 123.

<sup>5</sup> *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 1888, p. 12.

dent, hating controversy. But his chief friend and companion was Caelestius, a 'Scot' or Irishman, a lawyer, and a 'born agitator'. He was the great champion of Pelagianism at Rome, at Constantinople, at Mopsuestia. He is believed to be referred to by St. Jerome as 'indoctus calumniator . . . stolidissimus, et Scotorum pulibus prae-gravatus'.<sup>1</sup> The last we hear of Caelestius is that at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, he supported the Patriarch Nestorius against the Pope. Caelestius was clearly a thorn in the side of orthodoxy, and this fact may have directed the Pope's attention to the land of his nativity. Prosper of Aquitaine says,<sup>2</sup> 'ad Scotos (the Irish) in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Caelestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur,' and elsewhere<sup>3</sup> praises Caelestine for the same, and for his endeavours to keep the Roman island Catholic, and to make the barbarous island Christian. We hear nothing further of this mission of Palladius until we are told in the Life of St. Patrick by Muirchu Maccumatheni,<sup>4</sup> c. A.D. 700 or later, that it proved altogether abortive.

The early history of Palladius, who was also named Patricius, and of the more famous St. Patrick, is involved in much obscurity, and not only has the genuineness of the writings attributed to the latter by most modern critics, but the historical existence of the Saint, been questioned or denied. In the time of James I Sir Thomas Ryves endeavoured 'to represent St. Patrick as a myth, and the prevailing creed of Ireland as a fable'.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Plummer wrote, in 1896, 'On the whole I am inclined to agree with those who, beginning with Ledwich (1790), have doubted the very existence of St. Patrick.'<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Reeves, Todd, Whitley Stokes, G. T. Stokes, Olden, Bury, White, and Gwynn assume or uphold the authenticity of what are now commonly accepted as Patrician

<sup>1</sup> *Com. in Ierem.* Prolog. (c. A.D. 416). This allusion to Irish 'stirabout' is well illustrated by a remarkable passage in the *Senchus Mór* (*Ancient Laws*, ii. 149), in which the various kinds of stirabout suitable for the children in various grades of society are described.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron.* in Migne, *P. L.* 51, col. 595, Bassus and Antiochus being consuls (A.D. 431).

<sup>3</sup> *Contra Collatorem*, cap. xxi, in Migne ut supra, col. 271.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Book of Armagh*, fo. 2, where, at the foot of col. 1, read 'uita functus'. See also Tirechan, *ib.* fo. 16, and further in Todd, *S. P.* 289 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Lady Ferguson, *Life of Bishop Reeves*, 1893, p. 3. <sup>6</sup> Bede, ii. 25.

documents, and therefore the historic character of their author. For Zimmer's theory and its refutation, see Gwynn, xcvi.

## II. ST. PATRICK

§ I. *Authorities for life of St. Patrick.* The connected history of the Church in Ireland begins with what is thought to be known of St. Patrick, but with regard to him all critical writers have found it most difficult to extract what may safely be regarded as historically true, or indeed to know what is truth amid so much that is manifest fable. *Legendæ sunt lugendæ*,<sup>1</sup> the lamentation of a learned Jesuit, is particularly applicable to the case of St. Patrick. The primary authorities are his own 'Confession', a sort of *Apologia pro vita sua*, and his Epistle 'to' or rather 'against' or 'concerning' one Coroticus, perhaps a Welsh prince Caredig, or Ceretic, a prince of Strathclyde. The Confession, with considerable omissions, is found in the *Book of Armagh*, a composite volume written about A.D. 807, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>2</sup> The copy of the Confession professes to be taken from one in St. Patrick's own writing, and it certainly shows many signs of authenticity. Its Latin is rude and semibarbarous in grammar and spelling; its Scripture quotations are from the ante-Hieronymian Latin, which, however, was used in Ireland concurrently with the Vulgate long after his time; it speaks of Britain in the plural number (*Britanniae*)<sup>3</sup>; it refers to married clergy engaged in secular pursuits, one, a deacon, being also a Roman *decurio*; it contains no miracles, nor any mention of St. Patrick's having been in Rome or even in Gaul; mentions certain simple incidents in a remarkably naïve and truth-like manner; and is altogether just what might be expected

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the Abbé Feller, in Kenelm Digby's *Morus*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> The primary documents relating to St. Patrick have often been printed. See White, *Libb. S.P.*, 233. Not to mention earlier works, they will be found in Gwynn's *Book of Armagh*, 3-48, 443-70; *Anal. Bolland.*, i. 545-85, ii. 35-68; Stokes's *Tripartite*, 269-375. All these books give full descriptions of the MS., and complete indexes to Patrician matters. They are also in Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. 296 ff., and, with translations, in Cusack's *Tripartite*, 580-620, Olden's *Epistles and Hymns of S. P.*, Wright's *Writings of S. P.*, and White's *Libri Sancti Patricii*. The last-named includes very complete critical apparatus and notes.

<sup>3</sup> See below, Praef. II, notes on p. 87.

in a genuine composition of St. Patrick. Being mainly autobiographic, it is most valuable for our purpose. The Epistle on Coroticus is a strong remonstrance against that prince and his soldiers, who had slain some of the newly baptized converts, and carried others captive, and it relates that when a holy presbyter and clerks were sent with a letter to intercede for them, and ask for a return of some of the plunder, they were repulsed with laughter. The style is exactly that of the Confession, and it gives some additional particulars about St. Patrick. It is not in the *Book of Armagh*, but is referred to in a MS. of the tenth century supplementing the last part of that compilation, found at Brussels.<sup>1</sup> The earliest historical mention of St. Patrick, after his own times, is in Cummin's letter to Seghine on the Easter question, in 634; he is there called 'Patricius, Papa noster'. The silence of Bede is accounted for by his small intercourse with Ireland, and by his great dislike to the Celtic party; it may be compared with his silence about St. Boniface, or that of Josephus about the Christians.<sup>2</sup> In the *Book of Armagh* are notes on the life of St. Patrick by Tirechan,<sup>3</sup> a disciple of St. Ultan (d. A.D. 656), and the life already mentioned, written about the end of the seventh century by Muirchu Maccumachtheni. The writings of St. Patrick himself appear to be the only documents on which we can place much reliance. The two last-named, however, though full of doubtful and legendary matters, probably give the substance of documents and traditions reaching back to St. Patrick's time, and stand on quite a different footing from the *Tripartite Life*, the Life by Jocelin, and other mediaeval compilations, on which, directly or indirectly, the traditional fame of St. Patrick so largely rests.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. T. Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 28 n.; *Anal. Boll.* i. 539; W. Stokes, *Tripartite*, 375. On the Hymn of St. Sechnall, &c., see below, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Adamnan makes only one allusion to St. Patrick, and that quite incidental. See Praef. II, p. 86. But the nature of his works hardly required any such reference.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes, *Tripart.* 302; Gwynn, 17, 453.

<sup>4</sup> There is a mass for the feast of St. Patrick in the Sarum Missal, but there are no Proper Lessons in any of the old English Breviaries; in that of Aberdeen, however, are nine lessons recounting some of what were the most popular legends, including that of his going to Rome to receive consecration from Pope Caelestine. In the Roman Breviary (Norwich, 1830) are three lessons mostly based on the Confession and therefore historical, but the Caelestine legend is introduced. Colgan gives seven

§ 2. *St. Patrick's boyhood, captivity, and escape.* We gather from the *Confessio* that Patrick was born 'in Britanniiis'.<sup>1</sup> The date of his birth is unknown, and has been variously reckoned at c. 372, c. 389, and even later. His father was Calpornius, a deacon, farmer, and *decurio* or 'town-councillor'; his grandfather Potitus, a presbyter. Calpornius resided in his own *villula*, 'in vico Bannaueum Taberniae.'<sup>2</sup> The *Hymn of St. Fiacc*<sup>3</sup> says he was born in Nemthur, and gives his names as Patraicc, Succat, and Cothraige. When sixteen years old he was carried captive by Irish pirates, perhaps led by King Niall 'of the Nine Hostages', into Antrim, where he spent six years in tending cattle, as the slave of one Miliucc, perhaps in the valley of the Braid, near the hill of Slemish. According to his own account, during his boyhood he 'knew not the true God', that is to say, he was an average boy, with no very serious thoughts or sense of personal relation with God. He must have been well instructed in his religion, and its vital truths came home to him when he was in trouble. Some sin which he had committed when about fifteen weighed heavily on his conscience; his hardships and his sorrows sent him to God, and the fear and love of God increased in him day by day. His own most interesting account of his experiences at this time and subsequently is too long to quote here; it should be read in the *Confession* itself. At last he heard in a dream a voice saying that he should soon return to his native land, and then another voice that told him his ship was ready. Having served for six years he took to flight, God guided him to the ship, and, after being at first refused a passage, he was taken by the shipmen. They landed in three days, and for twenty-eight days wandered through a wilderness, possibly in North Britain, or perhaps in Western Gaul.<sup>4</sup> After some strange but not improbable experiences,

offices of St. Patrick and one of the Transl. of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Bridget.

<sup>1</sup> 'Old Kilpatrick', near Dumbarton, probably preserves the memory of the place, and the date appears to be about 375.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified. See Bury, 322.

<sup>3</sup> Not earlier than the latter part of the sixth cent. See Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. 360 n.; Todd, *S. P.* 313. But see also Healy, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Olden infers from the mention of dogs in the *Confessio* that the sailors were engaged in the exporting of Celtic dogs into Gaul, that they would be glad to have Patrick with them as one who spoke Latin, and

he escaped from the men, who seem to have held him in a sort of captivity, and so again 'after a few years', apparently those of his six years' captivity and his escape, he was once more in his father's house, received as a son, and implored, after so many tribulations, never to leave it.

§ 3. *His mission: difficulties in the chronology.* But he longed to carry the Gospel to the people among whom it had first come home with power to his own soul, whose language he had learned, to whose ways he had become accustomed. In the visions of the night he saw a man of Ireland, who called him to go over and help them. Sooner or later, he obeyed this call, and was consecrated bishop. He is said to have studied with St. Honoratus at Lerins, with St. Germanus at Auxerre, and with St. Martin at Tours, and to have started for or to have actually gone to Rome to obtain consecration and mission from Pope Caelestine I. There is, however, no evidence for these statements in St. Patrick's own writings or in the hymn of St. Sechnall (c. 448). In St. Fiacc's hymn (c. 590) we have the Germanus story, in Tirechan's Collections (c. 650 ?)<sup>1</sup> the Caelestine legend is added, but in Muirchu's memoir (c. 690) we are told, without any mention of Caelestine, that St. Patrick studied with St. Germanus, and that he afterwards went to St. Martin, who died eighteen years before Germanus became bishop of Auxerre, so that all this story is very suspicious. As to the *Honoratus* sojourn, see Bury, ch. iii. In the later lives, the man Victoricus, who appeared to St. Patrick in a dream, develops into his guardian angel Victor, and, as usual, the later we come down the more particulars we find. Dr. Todd regards the whole story of St. Patrick's connexion with St. Germanus and mission from St. Caelestine as transferred from a lost history of Palladius, who was also named Patricius, to the more famous St. Patrick.<sup>2</sup> With regard to St. Patrick's ordination, we learn from his own Confession

that the scene of the wanderings was somewhere near the Loire, which would explain his alleged sojourn in Gaul with St. Martin. The whole argument should be seen in Olden's *Church of Ireland*, 1892, pp. 16-19, 420.

<sup>1</sup> In the sentence immediately preceding is mentioned an event that occurred in 877. *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 205 a. The MS. in the *Book of Armagh*, c. 807-45, had already received considerable additions.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Patrick*, pp. 314-21. It has been supposed that there were two Patricks as well as Palladius, whose acts have been blended. See Petrie, in *Trans. R. I. A.* vol. xviii, *Antiquities*, pp. 115-118.

that he confessed the boyish sin above mentioned before he was a deacon, but that it was brought up against him when he was to be made a bishop. The difficulty was overcome; we have no information, however, as to where or by whom the consecration was effected.

§ 4. *His landing in Ireland to his death and burial.* The more or less doubtful particulars of St. Patrick's life, as gathered from Tirechan, Muirchu, and others, have been woven into consecutive narratives by many writers during the last few years, and we must do no more here than refer our readers to some of these, merely mentioning that he is said to have landed in Wicklow harbour about A.D. 432, to have met with a hostile reception, and then to have sailed northward with his companions, touching at St. Patrick's Isle, and landing on the shores of Strangford Lough. Here they made a convert of one Dichu, who gave St. Patrick a barn for his first church, now represented by that of Saul (*Sabhall*, barn); that St. Patrick next sought out his old master Miliucc, who, warned by his Druids, set fire to his house and goods, and perished in the flames rather than risk being converted, or witness the triumphs of Patrick; that he next went to Tara at some great convention, and that many of the chief men were converted, King Laeghaire (Leary) himself being baptized, though continuing pagan at heart, and at last buried with pagan rites at his own request. Next, he repaired to the neighbouring station of Teltown, where a brother of Laeghaire was converted, and the present church of Donaghpatrick founded. He then laboured in Connaught and Ulster, and obtained a grant of land for the church of Armagh, whence arose the primacy which that see still enjoys. Afterwards he laboured in Munster, and took part in the revision of the Brehon laws. There is no sufficient evidence for his alleged visits to Rome. On the contrary, the earliest documents are silent on the matter, and there are great discrepancies in the endeavours of later writers to bring in a mission from Rome. The *early* Irish chronology, confirmed by the undesigned evidence of the Confession and the letter against Coroticus, places the arrival of St. Patrick eight to ten years after the death of pope Caelestine, who is said by the later annalists to have sent him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Todd, *S. P.* 310 ff., 399.



Such writers as Healy, Joyce, &c. who maintain that Patrick received mission from Rome, rely on the very disputable antiquity of certain notes in the Book of Armagh. Finally, in his old age, his heart turned to the scenes of his earliest successes as a missionary, and he died at Saul, the barn-church. The date of his death is unknown. Todd thinks that Ussher's date, 493, is most probably right, *S.P.* 497. A.D. 461 is the date now generally agreed on, White, *Libri S.P.*, 231. It is said that there was a contention between the men of Armagh and the men of Down as to which should shelter his body, and one point among others in which he was said to resemble Moses was that no one knew where his body lay until St. Columba pointed out the true resting-place at Saul, by which is probably meant Downpatrick, about two miles S.W. The weight of evidence, however, seems to be in favour of Armagh.<sup>1</sup>

§ 5. *His influence, and his literary remains.* Whatever may be the amount of truth in what is commonly stated about St. Patrick, there is no doubt that he exercised a great influence on the local 'kings' or chieftains, who were, as we have seen, commonly followed by their clans, and he may rightly be venerated as 'the Apostle' of Ireland, although many of the people remained unconverted, and continued to regard him with hostility. In the Confession, written towards the close of his life, he says that he was in daily expectation of being put to death or driven back to slavery, and a partial apostasy appears to have taken place during the two centuries following his death.<sup>2</sup> He left behind him, in addition to the Confession and Letter on Coroticus, a hymn in Irish called his *Lorica* or religious armour, which he is said to have sung at Tara.<sup>3</sup> Bishop Healy tells us that even to this day it is chanted in Irish by the peasantry in the South and West, and 'regarded as a strong shield against all evils natural and supernatural'.<sup>4</sup> Of St. Patrick's own period is a Latin alphabetical hymn in his praise, written by his nephew St. Sechnall or Secundinus,<sup>5</sup> who possibly wrote also the

<sup>1</sup> See Olden, in *Proc. R. I. A.*, third ser., ii. 655.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes, *Tripartite*, cxliii; Skene, *Celtic Sc.* ii. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Printed, with translation, in Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. 320, and elsewhere previously. See note, *ib.*, p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> *Insula Sanctorum*, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. p. 324; see notes, *ib.*, p. 327; translation in Olden's *Epistles, &c. of St. Patrick*, p. 110.

hymn *Sancti, venite*, now so well known as 'Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord'.<sup>1</sup> Some canons attributed to St. Patrick on insufficient grounds, and extracts from the *Senchus Mór* relating to the Church, are printed in Haddan and Stubbs.<sup>2</sup> In the Book of Armagh are some traditional *Dicta Patritii*,<sup>3</sup> some of which may be genuine. One has become famous through being often quoted thus, 'O Church of the Scots (Irish), nay of the Romans, as ye are Christians, be ye also Romans.'<sup>4</sup> The original is 'Aecclesia Scotorum, immo Romanorum, ut Christiani, ita ut Romani sitis, ut decantetur vobiscum oportet omni hora orationis vox illa laudabilis *Curie lession, Christe lession. Omnis aecclesia quae sequitur me cantet Cyrie lession, Christe lession, Deo gratias*'. The passage is apparently corrupt, with its three *u*'s. And Professor Bury has shown that it is probably spurious, and has been added, perhaps after A.D. 700, to the two genuine *dicta*.<sup>5</sup> It will be seen that the opening words have a somewhat different complexion when taken with what follows, but even then the sentiment is hardly what we should expect from St. Patrick, judging by his undoubtedly genuine writings. In connexion with the saying *Deo gratias*, Muirchu gives a curious story of his being reported to say *Grazacham* (gratias agamus),<sup>6</sup> both when he received a present and when it was taken from him. (Cp. Job i. 21; 1 Thess. v. 18.)

§ 6. *Legends*. Before taking our leave of St. Patrick, we must briefly touch upon some of the principal legends on which his fame so largely rests. One is, his driving all the demons, serpents, toads, &c., out of Ireland with his pastoral staff. This incident appears first in the *Life* by Jocelin of Furness, written in the twelfth century, and subsequently in various Breviaries, &c. The germ of the legend is the probably historical circumstance related by Tirechan, that, while Patrick was fasting during Lent alone on a mountain, he was much troubled by flocks of birds, which darkened the air (Stokes, *Tripart.* 322). In the *Tripartite* the birds have become demons in the shape of black birds, and Patrick drives them away with his bell (*Ib.* 115). Jocelin

<sup>1</sup> *Hymns A. and M.*, No. 313. See below, II. ix. n., p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II. pt. ii. 328 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes, *Tripart.* 301; Wright, *Writings*, &c. 81; Gwynn, 17.

<sup>4</sup> e. g. in Healy, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of St. Patrick*, 232.

<sup>6</sup> Bury, 158; Wright, 83, where see reff.

says that he drove all the venomous creatures into the sea with the 'staff of Jesus', and that from that time to his time they have altogether ceased to infest Ireland (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 102, 103).<sup>1</sup>

St. Patrick's crosier, which may have been a genuine relic, has a wonderful story connected with it which culminates in its being given him by Christ Himself, in Lerins<sup>2</sup> or some other island in the Tyrrhene sea; to this crosier also belongs the legend of its having been used to drive away the reptiles. It was preserved at Armagh until after the Norman Conquest, when it was transferred to Dublin. There it remained until it was destroyed by Archbishop Browne in 1538. The story of St. Patrick's purgatory, first published by Henry of Saltrey in the twelfth century, is connected with a cave in an island in Lough Derg in Donegal, whither Irish pilgrims still resort. This one has perhaps been set up as a rival to an earlier St. Patrick's Purgatory on the top of the mountain Croagh Patrick, co. Mayo.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the best known legend of all is that of St. Patrick's illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity by the leaf of the shamrock. The use of the trefoil as an emblem in Ireland is very ancient, but probably of pagan origin. None of the early or mediaeval Lives, however, connect it with St. Patrick, and the legend seems not to be found earlier than A.D. 1600.<sup>4</sup> It is not mentioned by Colgan, who wrote in 1647.

<sup>1</sup> Ireland has enjoyed an immunity from snakes and some other reptiles from time immemorial. The probable explanation of the former immunity of Ireland from reptiles is, that these creatures migrated westward, and that before our islands were separated from the Continent a certain number had travelled as far as England, and a smaller number, perhaps only the lizards, as far as Ireland, and that, when the continuity of the land was broken, their further progress was stopped. There are now twenty-two species in Belgium, eleven in England, and five in Ireland. (Ramsay, *Physical Geography*, fifth ed., p. 483.)

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of Lerins in any of the earlier lives, not even in the *Tripartite*. Modern writers have followed the Bollandists, who thought that *Avalanensis*, 'of Arles' (Tírechán in Stokes's *Trip.* 302), might refer to Lerins. *Acta SS.* Mar. 17, p. 528.

<sup>3</sup> There is a large amount of information about the Purgatory in *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. i, pp. 139-55, with Kelly's notes.

<sup>4</sup> For these legends see *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 205, and works there cited; on St. Patrick's Purgatory, Cusack, 621-40; Olden, 263-7; for a striking account of Lough Derg and of a pilgrimage in 1817, Carleton, *Traits and Stories*, 1860, i. 236-70.

### III. SAINTS OF THE PATRICIAN PERIOD, AND THE 'THREE ORDERS' OF IRISH SAINTS

§ 1. *Early Irish Saints.* Three of the principal of St. Patrick's contemporaries or immediate successors may now be very briefly referred to.

Benignus, or Benen, was an early follower and lifelong companion of St. Patrick, and there is a very pretty legend, possibly founded on facts, about his 'call'.<sup>1</sup> He is spoken of as the Psalm-singer, and became bishop at Armagh. He died in 468, and was accounted the Apostle and Patron of Connaught.

Brigida, Bridget, or Bride, 'the Mary of Ireland,' was and is scarcely less popular than St. Patrick himself. Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* consists of acts of Patrick, Columba, and Bridget, the 'three common patrons' of Ireland, according to the title. Like many other Celtic saints, she was of royal descent, but a child of shame. Received and baptized, along with her mother, by the disciples of St. Patrick, in after years she lived to be foundress and first abbess of Kildare. This house had affiliated houses of monks and of nuns all over the country and she was abbess above all other abbesses; hence her domestic bishop and his successors long had pre-eminence among the bishops of Ireland, who were, as we know,<sup>2</sup> not uncommonly in the position of domestic chaplains subject to abbots, or even to abbesses. As in the case of St. Patrick, her fame was to a great extent the result of the legends that gathered round her memory, many of the incidents in which can be referred to paganism. (Elton, 270.) The one that most concerns us is that she prophesied of the birth of St. Columba, and of his becoming as a great tree whose top should reach over Erin and Albania (Scotland). She was much associated with St. Patrick, and is said to have made his winding sheet. She died about 523.<sup>3</sup>

Maucteus or Mochta is mentioned by Adamnan as a British stranger, a holy man, a disciple of St. Patrick, who prophesied of St. Columba.<sup>4</sup> He is said to have come

<sup>1</sup> See Newell, *St. Patrick*, 81, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, 1857, 339-41; 1874, civ, cv; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 104.

<sup>3</sup> St. Bridget of Ireland is not to be confounded with St. Bridget of Sweden, famous for her 'revelations', and as the foundress of the Briggittine Order of nuns, who died July 24, 1373.

<sup>4</sup> See Praef. II, p. 86.

over to Ireland with twelve disciples and to have evangelized the county Louth; also to have founded monastic schools, first one at Kilmore (*Cella magna*) and afterwards a more famous one at Louth. He died 535. Four other monastic schools of the fifth century are treated of in Healy, ch. vi.

§ 2. *The Three Orders.* It may be well now to say a few words on the 'Three Orders' of Irish saints. Our knowledge of this ancient classification is derived from a document of the middle of the eighth century,<sup>1</sup> in which the Irish saints are divided into three distinct classes or orders, who may be severally described as secular, monastic, and eremitical. The saints of the first or earliest order, which continued for about a century after St. Patrick, were all bishops, 350 in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick.<sup>2</sup> They had one mass, one celebration,<sup>3</sup> one tonsure from ear to ear, one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what one church excommunicated all did. They did not refuse the services and society of women (or according to another MS., either laymen or women), because, founded on Christ the Rock, they feared not temptation.<sup>4</sup> These were for the most part sprung from the Romans, Franks, Britons, and Scots (Irish).

The second order, or next in time, consisted of few bishops and many presbyters, 300 in all. They had one head, our Lord; they celebrated different masses and had different rules; their Easter and tonsure were as in the first order, but they refused the services of women, separating them from their monasteries. This order has lasted, says the document, for four reigns from the cessation of the first order. They received a mass from bishop David, and Gillas (*al.* Gildas), and Docus, the Britons.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Ussher and others, e.g. in *Acta SS. Hiberniæ ex Cod. Salmant.* 161-4; see Reeves, 1857, 334, 1874, 233. The reading *unam celebrationem misse* in Cod. Salm. is a late editor's alteration.

<sup>2</sup> Not even in so late a document as this have we either here or in the account of the second order a word about the Pope.

<sup>3</sup> In the Irish lives the words *celebrare* and *celebratio*, if used without qualification, almost always refer to the canonical hours, and not, as in later usage, to mass. Plummer's *Vitæ Sanctorum*, I. cxv. n.

<sup>4</sup> There were women in their ecclesiastical societies or households; the stricter monastic rule had not yet come in.

<sup>5</sup> Some perhaps used the mass of the first order, others this imported one; hence 'different masses' So also in the third order. Warren

The third or latest order consisted of presbyters and a few bishops, 100 in all ; they dwelt in deserts, and lived on herbs and water, and on alms ; they despised private property ; they had various rules, masses, tonsures, and Easters, differing among themselves. They lived during four reigns, and continued till the great mortality (A.D. 666).

The first order was *sanctissimus*, the second *sanctior*, the third *sanctus* ; they were as the sun, the moon, and the stars. It seems inconceivable that these three orders should have begun and ended exactly as stated. If we accept the document as on the whole historical, we must nevertheless suppose that there must have been some considerable overlapping, though each order may very well represent the predominant character of the period to which it is assigned. The succession of the first and second orders evidently marks a transition from the missionary church of St. Patrick<sup>1</sup> to the monastic church of the sixth century, while the third order represents an increase in the number of hermits or solitaries of various schools. It will be with the second order, to which St. Columba belonged, that we shall now be especially concerned.

#### IV. IRISH MONASTICISM

§ 1. *Early Monasticism.* The Irish monasticism of the sixth century was the outcome of the spirit and the work of the second order of Saints. It was very different from mediaeval monasticism, and an Irish monastery of that date, and for long after, was not in the least like those monasteries of the middle ages whose ruins are still existing in most parts of Ireland, as well as elsewhere. Celtic monachism was the transition from the hermit life to that of the religious orders of the middle ages. This transition soon took place in the East. The first monks were, as the word *μοναχός* implies, solitaries. This earliest monasticism

remarks that the admixture of passages from the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic rites with the Roman Canon in the Stowe Missal (ninth century) is suggestive of a period when these diversities had not ceased to exist. *Celtic Liturgy*, 204.

<sup>1</sup> On the enormous preponderance of bishops in St. Patrick's system, and on the early Irish chorepiscopi, see Reeves, *Eccl. Ant. of Down and Connor*, App. A. It was simply the oldest system going on, and still surviving in Italy and southern France. Every town had its congregation under a bishop, as now under a priest.

is supposed to have arisen in Egypt and Syria, whither numbers of Christians were driven by the Decian persecution in the middle of the third, and that of Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth, century. Many of these exiles are believed to have betaken themselves to a hermit life, possibly influenced not only by Christian, but by Manichaean, Jewish, Buddhist, and even pagan ideas. They soon divided themselves into two classes. Some continued the original hermit life, which was in later times practised by the third order of Irish saints, and by the comparatively few hermits or anchorites of the middle and even later ages. Others united themselves in communities each under the rule of a 'father' or abbot,<sup>1</sup> and lived as coenobites. Through constant communication between Alexandria and Marseilles, Egyptian monachism soon spread into Gaul, and then from Gaul into Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

§ 2. *Early buildings.* Such being the case, it is interesting to know, by existing remains and early accounts, that the primitive Irish monasteries were of the same type as those of Egypt and Syria, consisting of scattered huts or cells grouped around a church or oratory of humble character, and surrounded by a stone wall (cashel), or by an earthen rampart (rath, dun, or lis), with a ditch,<sup>3</sup> and on the top a palisade and quick hedge for seclusive enclosure, and for defence against robbers and wild beasts. And it may probably have been safety as well as solitude that so often recommended islands to the Celtic monks as sites for monasteries.

In Ireland the cells were often wooden or wattled huts, but not uncommonly of stone, and of 'bee-hive' form, made by laying each course a little within the one below, until the top was covered in. The earliest stone buildings are dry-walled, and some were built with clay used as mortar before the use of lime became universal. The little churches or oratories were invariably oblong, without chancels; when of stone they were at first roofed on the same principle as the bee-hive cells, the construction of the arch

<sup>1</sup> From the Syriac *Abba*, i.e. father.

<sup>2</sup> In the obscure beginnings of monastic life in Europe, St. Martin of Tours undoubtedly plays a prominent part. (Sozomen, *Ecc. Hist.* iii. 14; Migne, *P. G.*, col. 1081.) On the influence of John Cassian and others, see Stokes, *Celt. Ch.* Lecture ix, pp. 166-88.

<sup>3</sup> Water still remains in some of these. Joyce, *Geography of the Counties of Ireland*, 1883, p. 31.

not being understood till much later. And the descriptions of early Irish monasteries would serve for those of Egypt and Syria. There are found the same bee-hive cells, the same stone-roofed oratories, the same outer defences. In Ireland the cells in some cases have doorways so low that a man has to creep through, and inside is a set-off, forming a stone bench on which the monk could sit or lie.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no reason for supposing that all the buildings in Ireland were directly copied from those in the East. It was rather that the same mode of life required similar buildings, and a similar stage in civilization developed the same methods of construction. The first Christian architecture in Ireland was certainly in some respects, and probably in most, a continuation of the pagan work. When the local kings or chieftains became Christian, their raths or cashels, or new ones built in imitation of them, protected the earliest oratories and bee-hive cells, which latter were simply the old pagan dwellings, now serving as monastic cells adapted to that stage in the monastic idea which had then been reached. But, as Dr. Anderson says, 'there is no pagan structure which, in Scotland or in Ireland, assumes either the form or character of a Christian church, however early or however rude.'<sup>2</sup> Whence then came the idea of the little oblong church or oratory? Most probably from the East, where, as we have seen, similar churches existed.<sup>3</sup> With respect to burial-grounds, the pagan practice was to enclose them within a stone circle, but in the primitive Irish Church the enclosure was oblong in form, like the oratory, and fenced by pillar-stones set close together, each marked with a cross. Some of the early stone buildings are in very good preservation to this day. But the largest apartments, as well as some churches, and the greater number of the cells, were often constructed of much less durable materials, such as wood, wattles, and clay, and so have perished ages ago, while the materials of any stone buildings might be used again. Hence it is that

<sup>1</sup> See on this subject Warren, ch. ii. § 1, and Lecture ix, 'Ireland and the East', in Prof. Stokes's *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, and the end of Lect. xi. For illustrations and ground-plans, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Margaret Stokes, 1887, part ii, ch. ii, and reff. p. 82; Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Lectures ii, iii; Lord Dunraven, *Irish Architecture*.

<sup>2</sup> *Scotland, &c.*, 79, 80.

<sup>3</sup> See Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, 1874, ii. 229-32.



not a trace of St. Columba's monastery is to be seen at Iona. There must have been rooms with plenty of light, for illuminations such as those in the *Book of Kells* or the *Book of Durrow* could not have been executed in places in the least like bee-hive cells.<sup>1</sup> The great hall at Tara, where national assemblies were held, appears from existing indications to have measured 759 feet by 90, and, according to Petrie, must have been constructed of wood and clay.<sup>2</sup> And there is no reason why there may not have been similar buildings connected with the monasteries, of any size that might be required. Many of the churches, indeed, appear to have been of this kind, especially in the east and north-east of Ireland, where stone was less plentiful. But they were always small, 20 to 40 feet in length, rarely 60 (oratories about 10½ feet), never having aisles or apse, or anything approaching the basilica form, nor has any round church been found, nor indeed anything of Roman type. The churches, however, often had a 'side-house' or sacristy (Erdamh, exedra, or exedriola), as in many existing buildings.<sup>3</sup> Churches were usually orientated, but there were exceptions.<sup>4</sup> We find mention also of the kitchen, and of the 'great-house' or refectory. At Armagh, according to the *Tripartite Life*, p. 237, the kitchen was 17 feet long, and the great-house was 27. There was also a guest-house for strangers, and there were storehouses, drying-kilns, and mills, as well as workshops, and perhaps rooms solely for writing and study. The famous 'Round Towers' are invariably connected with ecclesiastical foundations, and mostly belong to the ninth and tenth centuries; some may be earlier, and others may be the successors of earlier ones. It is supposed that there may be a reference to one in Adamnan, III, xv, which is founded on Cummian, x. See note, p. 229. They were used as bell-towers, and as places of temporary refuge during attacks upon monasteries,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly, however, out of doors. For six facsimile plates of pages in the *Book of Kells* see vol. ii of the publications of the Old Palaeographical Society (1873-83) under the seventh century, and for magnificent coloured illustrations, with descriptive remarks on Irish Illuminations, by Dr. Todd, *Vetusta Monumenta*, 1869, vol. vi, and reff. there.

<sup>2</sup> Clay was often used as mortar in stone buildings; Reeves, *Ecc. Ant.* 23, 39.

<sup>3</sup> The Great Gospel of Columcille, known as the *Book of Kells*, was stolen out of the Erdamh at Kells in 1005. *Chron. Scotorum*, 245.

<sup>4</sup> Reeves, *Ecc. Ant.* 221, 222.

probably also as beacons and lighthouses. (See Dr. Petrie on *Round Towers*, and Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Art*, part ii. 48.)

§ 3. *Discipline*. With regard to discipline, each monastery, with its dependent houses, appears to have had a rule of its own. These rules had a general resemblance in the most important points. The Abbot was the head of each monastic family, including the daughter-houses, which were governed by local heads under the abbot. Sometimes the abbot was a bishop, but usually a priest, with one or more bishops subject to him as members of the community, but performing episcopal functions, and treated with honour and deference, as bishops. Even abbesses had such episcopal chaplains subject to their authority.<sup>1</sup> The system was one of monastic territorial jurisdiction and not one of diocesan episcopacy, though episcopacy was always held to be essential to the very being of a church. Poverty, celibacy, and obedience were all essential to the monastic life. There had been and were married *secular* clergy, as for example St. Patrick's father and grandfather. Polygamy existed; hence, when St. Patrick wanted a bishop for Leinster, he asked for 'a man of one wife, to whom hath been born only one child'.<sup>2</sup> Such marriages were perhaps regarded by later monastic writers as no marriages at all, and clerks' wives may be referred to as 'mulieres', or even 'meretrices'. Nevertheless, they went on in Ireland until the fifteenth century, the Roman canon law notwithstanding. The Brehon laws assume the existence of married as well as of unmarried clergy. Some writers have been driven to great straits in order to conceal these and kindred facts. (See Olden, 121, 289; Warren's *Celtic Liturgy*, 13, 14.)

§ 4. *Hospitality*. Hospitality was shown to strangers, in honour of whom the regular fasts were relaxed, according to the means at the command of the house, but the usual fare of the 'family' was very plain and simple.

§ 5. *Dress*. The ordinary dress was a coarse woollen

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Freeman called them 'ordaining machines', and remarked that 'there the highest and the lowest notions of episcopal authority seem to come together'. *Life and Letters*, ii. 222. Dr. G. T. Stokes says 'the abbots kept a bishop on the premises for the purpose of conferring holy orders'. *Celtic Ch.* 104. See above p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, 457; Stokes, *Trip.* clxviii; Olden, 121, 289; Warren, 13, 14.

wrapper or cowl, probably with a cord or strap round the loins, over a tunic or under-garment. The old Irish *casail*, often rendered *casula*, and 'chasuble,' was the ordinary outer garment worn not only by ecclesiastics, but by Druids and women. It is supposed to be referred to in the famous old Irish rime about St. Patrick<sup>1</sup> in the words rendered by Muirchu 'et sua *domu* capite perforato,' *domus* being regarded as equivalent to *casa*, of which *casula* is the diminutive. The monk slept in his clothes on a straw mat or something of that kind in his cell, and with probably a rug or skin over him.

§ 6. *Tonsure*. The tonsure was made by shaving off all the hair in front of a line drawn from ear to ear,<sup>2</sup> and is called the frontal, 'St. John's,' or Celtic tonsure, to distinguish it from the coronal, 'St. Peter's,' or Roman, and the total, 'St. Paul's,' or Greek tonsure. The Roman party nicknamed it Simon Magus's tonsure, probably with reference to some tonsure which the *magi* or Irish Druids had.<sup>3</sup> There was also a slaves' tonsure, which is said in the *Tripartite* to have been exchanged by St. Patrick for that of a monk (ed. Stokes, 25). It would seem that in 1300 the Irish generally 'half-shaved their heads.'—*Cambrensis Eversus*, i. 194 n.

§ 7. *Church Services*. The life of St. Columba contains many references to the days and hours of Divine Service, and we need hardly doubt that the Columban usages were much the same as what had long prevailed in Irish monasteries. The solemn days were Sundays and Saints' days (*natales*), and were observed with celebration of the Eucharist (which does not appear to have taken place daily) in addition to the Offices for the Hours sung on all days,

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Stokes's *Tripartite*, 34, 35, 274; Todd's *St. Patrick*, 411.

<sup>2</sup> Distinctly shown in a drawing at the end of the *Book of Durrow* (seventh century) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. This and other representations of the Celtic tonsure are described in *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 2nd ser., III. 272.

<sup>3</sup> See Todd, 455 n., 456; Stokes, *Trip.* 509 n. The term applied to a Christian missionary in ancient Irish writings is *tailcend*. This is rendered by Muirchu in the *Book of Armagh*, fo. 2, by *Asciciput*, 'Adzehead', and it is so rendered in Dr. Whitley Stokes's ed. of the *Tripartite* (1887), p. 35. But Dr. Todd (1864) says (411 n.) that the word is *Lasciciput*, which he connects with *lascivium* (*lixivium*), barber's soap, lather. The reading *Asciciput* is confirmed in *Anal. Boll.* i. 556. In the MS. the *l* is put in the margin, as if the scribe had been uncertain which was the right word.

rest from labour,<sup>1</sup> and an allowance of better food. All the usual Hours appear to have been observed at Iona, except that there is no mention of Compline, which was evolved from the informal prayers at bedtime in the sixth century, and seems not to have been adopted by the Celtic Church until a later period, if at all. The terms for Vespers (including Lauds) were *Vespertinalis missa*,<sup>2</sup> and *Vespertinales laudes*. The Holy Eucharist was called *sacra Eucharistiae ministeria*, *sacra mysteria*, *sacrae oblationis mysteria* or *obsequia* or *solemnia missarum*. Wine, water, and bread were provided, and the priest stood *ante altare*. The terms for consecration were *sacra Eucharistiae consecrare* (vel *conficere*) *mysteria*, *sacram oblationem consecrare*, *Christi corpus conficere*. Concelebration might be practised by two or more priests, but a bishop celebrated alone. The brethren communicated. On extraordinary occasions, even in the dead of night, as well, probably, as for the ordinary church services and for meals, the abbot or bishop called the brethren together by the sound of a hand-bell, which seems to have been in his own possession for life, and to have passed on to his successor.

§ 8. *Ecclesiastical bells*. These bells were of the rudest construction, and all which have been preserved have a strong family likeness. The bell 'of St. Patrick'<sup>3</sup> is the oldest and most authentic relic of metal work of the Christian period that has come down to us; it has a history of over 1,500 years.<sup>4</sup> Five chromolithographs, excellent for the time when they were done, and representing this bell and the four sides of its jewelled shrine, with a description by Dr. Reeves, were published at Belfast in 1849 and 1850. There is a beautiful woodcut of one side in Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Art*, part i, 60. The bell is formed of two plates of sheet iron bent over and riveted together in a quadrilateral form with rounded angles,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  diameter at the base, and a little less at the top. After being riveted,

<sup>1</sup> Sunday was so observed, according to Muirchu and the *Tripartite*, by St. Patrick (ed. Stokes, 147, 193, 289; *Anal. Boll.* i. 571); see also *Cal. Oengus*, ed. 1880, lxiv, cxlvii; 1905, *H. B. S.* 211; Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthb.* cap. 27; Olden, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> See notes on *missarum*, III. xi, and *vespertinalem missam*, III. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>4</sup> It is first mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster* at the year 552, about 170 years after the death of St. Patrick.

it has been dipped into melted bronze, which has both coated it and run into the joints. The handle is an iron loop let into holes on the top of the bell, and further secured outside by bronze attachments. It is, indeed, made in the same way as bells for camels, cattle, and sheep still are, and have been from the earliest times. The ordinary representation of St. Antony with a bell has perhaps originated in some conception of him as the head of a monastic house, bearing the bell as a recognized symbol of monastic rule. And possibly the use of hand-bells may have come into Ireland from the East. Whether they had been used in pagan Ireland appears to be uncertain.

§ 9. *Bell-shrines.* In course of time the bell of any famous saint came to be regarded as a most sacred relic, and, rude as it was itself both in material and in workmanship, it was enclosed in a shrine, made in its own form, and covered with the most elaborate patterns in metal-work, resplendent with gold and precious stones, and having rings at the sides for suspension round the neck. These magnificent shrines, however, formed no part of the equipment of an Irish monastery of the time with which we are concerned; they are supposed to have been made about 400 or 500 years after the deaths of the saints whose bells they enclose. They were preserved from generation to generation in the families that represented the original founders of the monasteries; hence the survival of so many, between fifty and sixty in Ireland alone.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. *Books and their shrines.* Sacred books, as missals and Gospels, and crosiers, were regarded with like veneration, and in course of time enshrined and preserved by hereditary custodians in the same way as the bells. The most venerable of these are the *Domhnach Airgid*, a Latin MS. of the Gospels reputed to have belonged to St. Patrick, with its shrine or case, and the famous *Cathach* or Battle-book, a Psalter possibly in St. Columba's handwriting,<sup>2</sup> also with its shrine. Many of these shrines or outer cases

<sup>1</sup> For accounts and illustrations of Celtic bells and shrines see Miss Stokes, 1887, ch. iv; pt. i, Anderson, Lecture v; Ellacombe, *Church Bells of Devon*, Supplement, ch. vii; Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 92, and authorities cited. Giraldus appears to have been much interested in Celtic bells and crosiers; *Topog. Hib.* Distinctio iii. 33, 34.

<sup>2</sup> See O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, Lect. xv, and below, vi. § 6. More recent opinion is less favourable to the genuineness of both these MSS. The cases are much later than the MSS.

are described in Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Art.*, part i, pp. 88-96.

To return now to the usages of Iona, as illustrating those of the still earlier Irish Church.

§ 11. *Easter and the Paschal controversy.* The chief festival was Easter, and the *Paschales dies*, from Easter Day to Whit-Sunday, were marked by greater indulgence than other times. Sunday of course was kept as 'an Easter Day in every week', and as a day of rest from work and travelling (Olden, 114, 115), as, e.g., by St. Cuthbert (Bede, *Vit. S. C.* xxvii; *Metrical Life*, 2870-77). And in the *Tripartite* (c. A.D. 1000) we find St. Patrick rebuking the heathen for digging a rath on a Sunday (Stokes, 233). In the story of the expedition of the sons of Ua Corra they are represented as finding a man on an island digging with a fiery spade as a punishment for digging on Sundays when on earth, and on another island a man riding a horse of fire, he having taken his brother's horse and ridden it on a Sunday (O'Curry, *MS. Mater.* 293). We hear later of a mill that refused to grind on a Sunday.<sup>1</sup> As to the time of keeping Easter, there had been and still were great differences in the Church, as there is still between the East and the West.<sup>2</sup> The churches of Asia long began to keep Easter on the evening of the Jews' Passover, on the fourteenth day of Nisan or Abib, which month began with the new moon nearest to the vernal equinox, so that the fourteenth day was the day of the Paschal full moon; hence those who began to keep Easter on this day, which might be any day of the week, were called 'Quartodecimans'. The Western churches began to keep Easter on the eve of the Sunday following, and this rule was confirmed by the Council of Nicaea. And the Celtic Churches followed the Western custom in this respect, and so were not Quartodecimans. But the time of the year in which the vernal equinox fell was a matter of astronomical calculation, and depended on what 'cycle' was adopted. During the fourth, and first half of the fifth, century the Alexan-

<sup>1</sup> Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hib.* I. xcvi, cxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> The present difference however is, that in Russia and Greece and throughout the East the rectification of the Calendar made by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, is still rejected, and the 'Old Style' tenaciously adhered to, as was the case in the British dominions until Jan. 1, 1752. On the whole subject of the Paschal Controversy and Tonsure, see the Excursus in Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 348, and Index, vol. ii.

drian church used a nineteen-year cycle, while the Roman used the old Jewish eighty-four-year cycle. But in 463 Rome adopted a new cycle of 532 years. Now the Irish church had received with St. Patrick and its first teachers, not the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, which might conceivably have come to them through Marseilles and Gaul, but the old Roman and Jewish eighty-four-year cycle, which had prevailed all over Europe; indeed, so little had the Irish clergy to do with Rome during the earlier centuries of its life, that they knew nothing of the new Roman cycle and consequent alteration in the time of Easter, and, when attempts were made to bring in this Roman Easter and the Roman tonsure, they resisted with a vehemence altogether inconsistent with the alleged saying of St. Patrick, to the effect that the Irish should sing *kyrie eleeson* that they might be indeed Roman,<sup>1</sup> or with any such dependence on Rome as might have been inferred had St. Patrick really sought consecration and mission from the Pope. As a matter of fact, the Roman Easter and tonsure were not accepted by the Celtic church until A. D. 716.<sup>2</sup> The only other great festival mentioned by Adamnan is the *Natalitium Domini*, or Christmas. Wednesdays and Fridays, except during the *Paschales dies*, were fast-days, and Lent was strictly kept as a preparation for Easter, while some kept the forty days before Christmas in a similar way.

§ 12. *Baptism, &c.* We find baptism administered to children, and to an old man at the point of death, as well as to adult converts. Holy orders were conferred by a bishop only. It is not certain whether one bishop consecrating another usually had, as later, at least two others with him as co-consecrators. Lanfranc and Anselm both complained that consecration by single bishops was practised in Ireland, and there are two or three known instances of it. Bishops probably had crosiers; see pp. 20, 28, 29. Confession was made *coram omnibus*, and the abbot enjoined

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> How entirely independent of one another and indeed mutually antagonistic on these points the Celtic and Roman churches were is fully shown in the Introduction to Warren's *Celtic Liturgy*, ch. 8, § 4, pp. 29-46. The Celtic Churches however, like the Roman, kept Easter Day on a Sunday, and so were not Quartodecimans. They did not all accept the Roman Easter at the same time. For dates see Plummer's *Bede*, I. xxxix n. See further in *Addenda*.

penance and gave absolution. But there was also a system of personal direction, and the director was called one's *anmchara*, *animae carus*, or soul-friend. The saying 'a man without a soul-friend is a body without a head' may belong, however, to the mediaeval period, though attributed in legend to the time of St. Bridget. (See Stokes, *Calendar of Oengus*, xlv, cxxix.) The sign of the cross for the averting of evil or enduing with virtue was in constant use, and in St. Columba's time objects which he had blessed were regarded and used as charms. The Burial of the Dead was a religious office following upon the *exequiae*, which in the case of St. Columba lasted till the third day after death, and in other cases for a longer or a shorter time: p. 185, l. 8, p. 234.

§ 13. *Employments.* The employments of the communities, apart from the church services and private devotion, were reading, writing, and labour. Holy Scripture was a principal subject of study; the Psalms were commonly learnt by heart. Latin was still a living language in the monasteries; Greek and even Hebrew received some attention. Lives of the saints were both written and read, and perhaps some of the Latin Fathers were studied as time went on. Adamnan, like other Celtic writers, was much given to the use of Greek words turned into Latin forms either by himself or others, and he sometimes quoted Greek words, and put Latin words into Greek letters. In the last page of Codex A of his Life of St. Columba is the Lord's Prayer in the semi-uncial Greek characters adopted by the Irish scribes,<sup>1</sup> and exhibiting their usual confusion between  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$ , with other clerical errors which show that the scribe did not always understand the words, but that Greek was felt to be at least a matter of interest and curiosity.<sup>2</sup> Writing formed a large part of the occupation of monks and scholars, some of whom probably worked at little else. We find mention of waxed tablets,<sup>3</sup> styles,

<sup>1</sup> A good deal of this writing is found in the *Book of Armagh*. See Warren, note on p. 157; Reeves, 1857, pp. xx, xxi; below, p. 85 n.

<sup>2</sup> On the whole subject of Greek in Gaul and western Europe down to 700, and the knowledge of Greek in Ireland between 500 and 900, see Dr. G. T. Stokes, in *Proc. R. I. A.* third ser., vol. ii. pp. 177-202.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cuius mihi formam in tabula cerata ipse depinxit.' *De Loc. Sanctis*, i. 2. 'Mihi Adamnano . . . primo in tabulas describenti, . . . dictavit quae nunc in membranis brevi textu scribuntur.' *Ib. Prolog.* On pre-Christian Irish tablets, see O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 465-470, and on



skins, and inkhorns.<sup>1</sup> Most of the books used in the churches, as ordinary mass-books, psalters, lectionaries, hymn-books; or for study, as the Scriptures, Fathers, Saints' lives, chronicles, &c., would be but little ornamented. Among the 'school-books' in use were educational poems forming class-books to be learnt by heart, and commented on or explained by the teachers.<sup>2</sup> The art of illumination doubtless grew by degrees, but such magnificent specimens as the *Book of Kells* and the *Book of Durrow*, both of which have been attributed to St. Columba himself, are now considered to be of the seventh century, not of the sixth. The colophon of the *Book of Durrow* refers to the writer, Columba, but Columba was a very common name, and the colophon, moreover, appears to be copied from some other earlier MS., and to contain, as do other parts of the MS., errors which St. Columba would hardly have committed.<sup>3</sup> But whoever the scribe and illuminator may have been, they have produced one of the finest extant works of its kind. Except at the beginning of each Gospel, the only attempts at ornament are the red dots round the capital letters, and the filling in of blank portions of lines with a sort of chain ornament. But the first letter in each Gospel is a fine specimen of Celtic illumination, and before each Gospel is an Evangelistic symbol, and a page occupied by interlaced and other Celtic patterns. The 'Man' of St. Matthew has been described as an 'ecclesiastic' with the Irish tonsure. The hair is parted in the middle, and the front part of the head is distinctly shown as being shaven. The text is 'a tolerably pure Vulgate'. The *Book of Armagh* is written in a very small hand, but with fine capital letters and Evangelistic symbols. It contains, besides the Patrician documents, the whole of the New Testament, and the Life of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus. Much finer still is the *Book of Kells*, the text of which, like that of the New Testament in the *Book of Armagh*, is the Vulgate modified by additions, &c., from the Old Latin. It is impossible to give any idea of the splendour and elaboration of its ornamental pages

waxen and other tablets, E. Maunde Thompson, *Gk. and Lat. Palaeography*, 1893, p. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Reeves (on i. 25) refers to Keller, *Bilder*, &c., p. 92, pl. vii (Zurich, 1851).

<sup>2</sup> Joyce, *Hist.* 160.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 188, note.

and letters, or of the extreme minuteness of the work, which often requires a lens to trace it, 'yet these minute lines are as firm as if drawn by a machine, and as free as if they were the growth of nature'. 'But', as Mr. Madan observes, 'the limitations of excellence are also obvious. When the human figure or historical scenes are attempted, the effect is poor and often barbarous, and even trees and flowers were avoided by Irish artists; so that our judgement on the Irish school must be that it exhibits, not the highest form of art, but the highest development of that particular grade of art in which regularity and minuteness hold a more important place than free drawing from nature.' Oriental and mediaeval MSS. depend largely on the free use of gold for the glory of their illuminations, but in this and other Celtic works no gold is employed, and the characteristic polychrome is obtained solely by the use of pigments which produced richness rather than brilliancy of effect.<sup>1</sup> Books, being so highly prized, as well they might be, were kept in satchels of embossed leather (*polairi*) into which they would just fit; these had long straps by which they could be hung upon walls, or round the neck, under one arm. Such are the satchels of the *Book of Armagh* (made for a larger book; pattern reproduced in the binding of Gwynn's edition), of the Corpus missal at Oxford, and of St. Moedoc's reliquary. Curzon found the books in the library of an Abyssinian monastery kept exactly in the same way,<sup>2</sup> and the Corpus satchel is very like an Æthiopic one at St. John's College. The Irish had also larger satchels (*tiaga*) to hold a number of books.<sup>3</sup> The principal manual labours of the Irish monks (besides writing, &c.) were the various branches of agriculture, including cow-keeping, and the preparation of food. Adamnan gives us

<sup>1</sup> On the *Books of Kells* and *Durrow* and on others of the same class, see above, IV, § 2 n., p. 35; Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Lecture iv; Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Art*, part i, pp. 6-51; ii, iii (list of ref. p. 52); *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin*, pp. 159-66; Madan, *MS. Books*, ch. v, and below, VI. § 5, p. 55. The oft-quoted description by Giraldus Cambrensis of the Kildare Gospels, now lost, might have been written for the *Book of Kells*, and in its way it cannot be surpassed. (*Topog. Hib.* ii. 38.)

<sup>2</sup> *Monasteries of the Levant*, 93.

<sup>3</sup> See Reeves's notes, ed. 1857, pp. 115, 116; Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Art*, part i, p. 50; *Archaeologia*, xliii. 136; Bp. Wordsworth, *Old Latin Texts*, ii, p. xiv; Petrie, *R. T.* 332-42.

many details concerning the constitution of the monastery at Iona, its officers, the household, the discipline, the religious offices and holy days, the ordinary occupations of the brethren, their buildings, and their jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

## V. MONASTIC SCHOOLS.

§ 1. *Probable origin of scholastic discipline in Ireland.* We must now go back to the latter end of the fifth century, and give a short account of those great monastic schools in Ireland, with more than one of which St. Columba was connected as a learner if not as a teacher. It is probable that the men of the Second Order derived their monastic discipline, as we have seen that they derived a Liturgy, not from St. Patrick and the Saints of the First Order, but from those great Welsh schools which were springing up during the years of the missionary work of St. Patrick's later disciples.

§ 2. *Aran.* The earliest of the Irish schools, and the one regarded as the 'Nursery' of the Saints of the Second Order, was that founded by St. Enda at Aran, the greatest of three islands off Galway bay. Passing by the legendary account of the earlier life of St. Enda, which tells of his crossing from another island in a stone boat,<sup>2</sup> it does appear that he founded his first monastery at Killeany (church of Enda or Enna), and that men were attracted to it from all parts. Among these were the famous St. Brendan of Clonfert, who, according to a very late development of his legend, made a seven years' voyage in search of the Fortunate Isles, St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, St. Finnian of Moville, and St. Columba himself; indeed there were hardly any of the great saints of the Second Order who did not spend some time in Aran with St. Enda. The saint was of noble and royal descent, and, before his conversion, the head of the tribe of the Oriels, in Ulster. When he came to Aran, he was at first opposed by the pagan chief, who however soon withdrew in his favour. The islands are still full of most interesting ruins of pagan

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Reeves's most complete collection of reff. on all points connected with the life in Iona; ed. 1857, pp. 339-69; ed. 1874, pp. civ-cxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> A stone in size and form resembling a *curroc* bottom upwards is still shown by the side of the little harbour, and some of the islanders now say that it was 'St. Columcille' that came in it.

forts and Christian churches ;<sup>1</sup> the former, with their beehive cells, &c., were no doubt made use of by the Christian settlers. As so many came to Aran for a while and then left it in order to set up monasteries of their own, it was by no means a monastery pure and simple as the term is now commonly understood, but rather, like those which succeeded it, a monastery undertaking a great educational work.

§ 3. *Clonard*. The School of St. Finnian at Clonard became the most famous of all the great schools of the sixth century. Its founder was known as the Tutor of Erin's Saints, and twelve of his disciples were called the twelve apostles of Ireland, the monastic schools which they founded becoming the greatest centres of 'sound learning and religious instruction' in Ireland. Finnian had been under the training of St. David and other Welsh saints, and seems to have founded his school at Clonard about 520. He is said to have had no less than 100 bishops and 3,000 students in his college or monastery, though not all, we may presume, at the same time. Bishop Healy, however, thinks that there were as many as 3,000<sup>2</sup> at a time,<sup>3</sup> and that the instruction was generally given in the open air, the pupils being so seated on the grassy slopes that thousands could hear at a time. They built their own huts, he says, and lived like an encampment of soldiers, sowed and ground their own corn, fished in the rivers, and had milk in abundance from the cows that grazed in the monastic pastures. At Clonard it was the custom that each one of twelve, apparently those mentioned above, should in turn procure the daily food of the rest wherever he could, by labour or buying or begging.<sup>4</sup> St. Finnian of Clonard, surnamed 'the Wise', died Dec. 12, about 550, and was buried at Clonard,

<sup>1</sup> See the first eight plates, and plates xxxvi-xlv, with the descriptions, in Lord Dunraven's magnificent work entitled *Notes on Irish Architecture*, 2 vols, large 4to, 1875 and 1877, and Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Art*, part ii, pp. 1-81; ref. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> This was a favourite traditionary figure (Montalembert, iii. 93, 94), and it would be safer to say, in the words of Ussher (*Works*, vi. 586), that from Clonard 'tanquam ex equo Trojano innumeri doctrina et pietate praestantes viri prodierunt'.

<sup>3</sup> *Insula Sanctorum*, 201.

<sup>4</sup> See the Life of St. Columba of Tir-da-glas in *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salmant.* sect. 5, col. 445; *Tr. Th.* 457.

where there are now no remains of any very ancient buildings.

§ 4. *Clonfert*. The school of Clonfert, connected with the see and monastery of that name, was founded by St. Brendan 'the Navigator', pupil of St. Enda and of St. Finnian of Clonard. He was born about 484, and, after a very eventful life, founded Clonfert in 556 or 557; his great fame both as a saint and as a traveller attracted many students, and for many centuries Clonfert was the most frequented and most famous school in the west of Ireland. St. Brendan ruled the house for twenty years, during which time his passion for travel never altogether deserted him. He occasionally left Clonfert to visit other monasteries, and in Adamnan, III, xvii, we find him, in company with three other founders of monasteries, visiting St. Columba on Hinba island, near Iona. He died in 577 in his 94th year, and was buried at Clonfert. His day is May 16.

§ 5. *Moville*. The School of Moville, or Maghbile, at the head of Strangford Lough in co. Down, was founded by another St. Finnian, who is not to be confounded with St. Finnian of Clonard by the southern border of Meath. Moville is about five miles south of the Irish Bangor, a school which of all others in Ireland acquired a European reputation. The story of Finnian (or Finbar) of Moville is that he was a scion of a noble family settled by Strangford Lough, anciently called Lough Cuan, and that he had made great progress in wisdom and piety, when a bishop called Nennio, with certain disciples, came over from the famous house of Candida Casa in Galloway, to visit the monastery and school of Noendrum, an island in the Lough, now called Island Mahee. Candida Casa was founded about 397 by St. Ninian, who had been educated in Rome and had sojourned at Tours, whence probably arose much of the fame of his monastery. The young Finnian begged to return with the visitors, and remained some time at Candida Casa. Thence he went to Rome for seven years, as is said, and on his return to Ireland founded Moville about 540. Thus the two Finnians represented Welsh and North British traditions respectively, and one of them represented those of Rome as well. The school of St. Finnian of Moville long flourished under himself and his successors, who for about 200 years appear to

have been bishops; its fame, however, was in course of time eclipsed by that of the Irish Bangor. St. Finnian's penitential code is extant, but his rule is not. Adamnan (II, i) relates a miracle which happened while St. Columba was studying with Findbarr or Vinnian a bishop in Scotia (Ireland); this and the post-Adamnanic legend of Columba's furtive copy from St. Finnian's psalter, which will be referred to more particularly below, both relate to Finnian of Moville, who is said to have brought over with him from Rome an entire copy of the Vulgate. He died in 589 at a great age, and was buried at Moville. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 372, n. 14, and others (e.g. Miss Stokes in her interesting work *Six Months in the Apennines*, Lond. 1892) have identified him with Frigidianus or Fridian bp. of Lucca, who may have been an Irishman, but Lanigan, Todd, and Reeves all consider the two names to belong to totally different persons, whose histories are mixed up in mediaeval legend (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* under FRIDIAN). Fridian is said to have died and been buried at Lucca, Finnian at Moville. (Healy, pp. 249, 254.)

§ 6. *Clonmacnoise*. The School of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was founded in 544 or 548 by Ciaran Mac In Tsair, i.e. 'the Carpenter's son,' the 'beloved disciple' of Ireland. He was baptized in 512, the probable year of his birth, by a deacon named Justus, and was educated first at Clonard, and then at Aran. St. Enda sent him to found a church on the banks of the Shannon, and he founded one at Isell Ciarain and then another on Inis Ainghin, now Hare Island, in Lough Ree. He did not remain long at either place, but journeyed south and settled at Clonmacnoise, on the left bank of the Shannon, with eight companions, on Saturday, Jan. 23, 544 or 548? When Ciaran was planting the first post he was helped by Diarmaid the king's son, and in one of the panels of the great cross at Clonmacnoise (A.D. 916) the clean-shaven monk in his long robe and the bearded prince in short tunic are clearly shown in the act of setting up the post, or a tall wooden cross. Diarmaid became a great benefactor to Clonmacnoise, though he appears to have still kept Druids or soothsayers about him. Ciaran lived only four months after this. He was attended in his last hours by St. Coemgen or Kevin of Giendalough, his 'soul-friend', whom he had known at Clonard, and to whom he now

gave his bell as a parting gift. Having been sprinkled with holy water and having received the holy *viaticum* at the hands of St. Kevin, he passed away in peace, 'at the sacred age of thirty-three', Sept. 9 or 5? 544 or 549? But, although Ciaran did not live long to rule the house, he was held in most loving remembrance, and to this day crowds of pilgrims meet at Clonmacnoise on the 9th of September. His personal relics, such as the cow-skin on which he died, were believed to work miracles of healing, and it was thought that Ciaran's prayers would save the souls of all who were buried in his holy ground. Hence it became a famous place of sepulture, and in Dr. Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*<sup>1</sup> are no less than 179 inscriptions from Clonmacnoise alone, all very short and simple, and nearly all with incised crosses.<sup>2</sup> The great sculptured standing cross was set up for King Fland (ob. 916), by the Abbot Colman (ob. 924), as its inscription shows.

As a monastic school, Clonmacnoise became most of all in Ireland a national rather than a tribal institution. St. Ciaran himself was half northern and half southern, and his successors were chosen from all parts and without any reference to their family connexions. St. Columba visited Clonmacnoise in 585, as we shall see. To one Colchu, *lectorem in Scotia*, usually identified with a head teacher at Clonmacnoise c. 794, the famous Alcuin (Albinus), who had been his pupil, addressed a letter implying the highest respect and deference. He sends alms from King Charles (Charlemagne) and a quantity of (olive) oil, then very scarce in Ireland, to be distributed among the bishops for the use of men or the honour of God.<sup>3</sup>

§ 7. *Conclusion.* And now that we have passed over in brief review the main points that are known or fairly probable with regard to the great monastic schools of the sixth century,<sup>4</sup> we shall be better prepared to consider

<sup>1</sup> Dublin, 1872 and 1878, 2 vols., 4to.

<sup>2</sup> The ordinary formula is simply *Oro it do N.* 'Pray for N.' The stones are now collected together in one of the churches.

<sup>3</sup> See Ussher's *Works*, iv. 466; Alcuini *Opp.*, Migne, 100, col. 143.

<sup>4</sup> On Ireland's ancient schools, teachers, and scholars, see full accounts in Healy's *Insula Sanctorum*. Among these, Bangor was especially famous. This Bangor on Belfast Lough is to be distinguished from Bangor in co. Mayo, from Bangor on the Dee in Flintshire, and from Bangor in Carnarvonshire. Its monastery was founded in the sixth century by

the life of St. Columba in the same way, and shall better understand the nature of his preparation for the great work of his life, namely, the carrying into northern Britain of that Irish Christianity which had itself been derived, in a great measure at any rate, from Britain. St. Patrick himself, as we have seen, was of British extraction, and the Saints of the Second Order probably derived much more than their Liturgy from Wales. The one St. Finnian was a pupil of St. David, the other had studied with the successors of St. Ninian. The southern Picts, as Bede tells us (*E. H.* iii. 4), had, long before the coming of Columba to Iona, forsaken idolatry, and embraced the truth through the preaching of St. Ninian, but it was reserved for Columba to evangelize the Northern Picts, and this he did, receiving of them the island of Iona, that he might found therein a monastery, which should be a great centre for missionary work.

## VI. COLUMBA IN IRELAND.

§ 1. *Birth and childhood.* It was not within the scope of the Latin 'Lives' (so called) to say where or when St. Columba was born,<sup>1</sup> but the oldest Irish Life<sup>2</sup> says at Gartan (little field) on Thursday the day of St. Buite's decease (Dec. 7). The chronology is confused as to the year, but 521 may be the date.<sup>3</sup> Gartan is a village by

St. Comgall, the friend of St. Columba, and from it came the famous 'Antiphony' of Bangor. Beside the monastic schools, there were some carried on at the public expense, and some kept by private individuals, on which see Joyce, *Hist.*, part ii, ch. v, p. 155.

<sup>1</sup> Strange stories still enter into the folk-lore of the peasantry. On Aug. 4, 1893, the editor was told the following by the widow Keelan, aged 74, at Tara: 'St. Columcille never had a father. The way it was was this: St. Bridget was walkin' wid St. Paathrick an' a ball fell from heavin, an' it was that swate she et it all up, an' it made her prignant with Columcille, an' that's what a praste towld me, an' it's throe. St. Bridget, an' St. Paathrick, an' St. Columcille, all lays in one grave in Downpaathrick, so you can put that down.' (Cp. verses, in Reeves, 1857, lxxx.) Miraculous conceptions of a similar kind are not uncommon in mediaeval Irish hagiology. See Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, pp. lxi, lxxii, lxxxix, clvi, clxxi; *H. B. S.* 87, 111, 135, 223, 247.

<sup>2</sup> This is the primary authority for most things relating to the life of St. Columba that are not recorded by Adamnan. Concerning it see above, Preface, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The whole matter has been most fully gone into by Reeves (ed. 1857), lxi, (1874) 225, and again by Mr. Alfred Anscombe, who assigns



a small lake among the hills of Donegal, and the local traditions of St. Columba's birth there are still very strong. He belonged to the race of Conall Gulban, from which were descended the O'Donnells and other clans, who claim 'St. Columcille' as their patron and kinsman, and he came of royal lineage on both sides, his father, Fedhlimidh (Phelim), being great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages,<sup>1</sup> 'Over-king' in Ireland 379-405,<sup>2</sup> and his mother, Eithne, being also descended from a king of Ireland. Thus the nobility of two races met in the child, and afterwards contributed greatly to the influence which he exercised. He was christened by the presbyter Cruithnechan, and named Colum (dove);<sup>3</sup> Irish writers say he had also the name Crimthann (fox). Afterwards he was commonly called Colum-cille 'a cella et Columba' (Bede, *H. E.* v. 9) or, according to the pretty explanation in the *Leabhar Breac*, 'because of the frequency of his coming from the cell in which he read his psalms, to meet the neighbouring children. And what they used to say among themselves was: Has our little Colum come to-day from the cell? i.e. from Tulach-Dubhglaise (Temple Douglas) in Tir-Lughdech in Cinell Conaill'. This would be while he was living as the foster-child of Cruithnechan (*pueri nutritor*, iii. 2), with whom he had been placed, in accordance with the usual custom.<sup>4</sup>

§ 2. *Education.* When he was old enough to leave his foster-father, he was placed as a pupil with the bishop St. Finnian, in the great school at Moville.<sup>5</sup> Here he studied for some time, and was ordained deacon. Then it was that, according to Adamnan, II, i, he turned water into wine. From Moville he travelled southward, and studied with 'Master Gemman', an aged bard in Leinster, probably with a view to perfect himself in the language and

St. Columba's birth to 504, his migration to 546, and his death to 580. *Obit of St. Columba*, 1893, p. 7.

<sup>1</sup> 'Quod nouem regnorum deuictorum obsides acceperit. Ita etiam iv Magistri . . . ad an. 379 et 405 . . . et alii innumeri.' *Tr. Th.* 447. They were confined at Tara, where the mound or fort 'of the hostages' is still visible. See further in *Camb. Ev.* i. 495, and notes; iii. 271.

<sup>2</sup> See above, II, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> Colum (or Colm) with the diminutive becomes Columan (Colman), and so Colum becomes Columban. With the prefix of endearment and another diminutive it is Mo-cholum-og (Mocholmog). Cp. VIII, § 8 n.

<sup>4</sup> See below, III, ii, n.

<sup>5</sup> See above, V, § 5.

literature of his native land. At this time occurred the incident related by Adamnan, II, xxv. Next, Columba went to the monastic school of St. Finnian of Clonard, on the Boyne,<sup>1</sup> where he became one of the 'Twelve Apostles of Erin'.<sup>2</sup> On his arrival he asked Finnian where he should make his bothy, and Finnian told him to make it at the door of the church. And at supper time each in turn of the 'apostles' used to grind the quern, but an angel ground for Colum-cille.<sup>3</sup> And as from the former St. Finnian he had acquired Roman traditions through St. Ninian and Candida Casa, so now from his second teacher of the same name he acquired traditions of Wales and of Gaul.

§ 3. *Ordination.* St. Finnian of Clonard appears not to have been a bishop. It has been thought that he may have wished to have Columba ordained or consecrated as a bishop to serve in his monastery. For it is said that Columba was sent to Etchen bishop of Clonfad to receive ordination, and that Etchen, intending to ordain him bishop *per saltum*, ordained him priest by mistake, whereupon Columba, as if regarding this as a leading of Providence, vowed that he would always continue in priest's orders.<sup>4</sup> The whole story has a very legendary complexion, and was probably imagined in later times in order to account for Columba's remaining a presbyter, which, however, was the ordinary course among the eminent men or saints of the Second Order. Etchen is said to have been at the plough when Columba came to him; and Dr. Todd points out<sup>5</sup> that, even if we regard the story as pure fiction, which is not necessary, at any rate it shows that when it was constructed it was thought conceivable that a bishop might work in the fields, that a single bishop might consecrate another, and that the consecration might be *per saltum*

<sup>1</sup> See above, V, § 3, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Commemorated in a companion stanza to one on the Twelve Apostles of Christ, thus rendered:—

Two Finnéns, two chaste Colombs,  
Ciarán. Caindech, fair Comgall,  
Two Brenainns, Ruadan with splendour,  
Nindid, Mobii son of Natfraech.

Stokes, *Cal. of Oengus*, cxviii; H. B. S. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Old Irish Life in Skene, *Celt. Sc.* ii. 480.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. of Oengus*, li; H. B. S. 73.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Patrick*, 70-87, where the matter is very fully discussed in all its bearings.

from deacon's orders. However, St. Columba was probably ordained priest either while at Clonard or while with St. Mobhi, for we next find him at another monastic school, that of St. Mobhi Clarainech at Glas Naoidhen, now Glasnevin, near Dublin. St. Mobhi is said to have been one of the 'twelve apostles', and a fellow-student with Columba at Clonard, though perhaps considerably his senior. Here too we find 'bothies', and here are said to have sojourned others of his companions at Clonard, viz. St. Comgall, St. Ciaran, and St. Cainnech. He was about twenty-five years of age, when Mobhi dispersed his pupils on account of the great pestilence of 543, then devastating the neighbourhood; it prevailed in many parts of Europe, and was known as the yellow plague, and recurred from time to time.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. *His return to Ulster, and first monastic foundations.* Columba returned to Ulster, the land of his kindred, and on crossing the Bior (Moyola water) prayed that the plague might not extend beyond it, and it is said that his prayer was heard. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Columba founded Derry in 545 (546), and O'Donnell further states in his *Life*<sup>2</sup> that Ainmire, first cousin of Columba, offered him, in the name of his son Aedh, then ten years old, the fortified place in which he dwelt, that he might found there a monastery. This spot was on a rising ground in a bend of the Foyle, protected on the other side by a bog, and on account of its oak grove called Daire Calgaich, now Derry or Londonderry. Columba hesitated because Mobhi had not given him leave to found a monastery, but two messengers came to say that Mobhi had died of the plague,<sup>3</sup> and that before his death he had sent the required permission, and with it his girdle as a token. So Columba accepted his cousin's gift and founded his first monastery, where his kith and kin rallied round him,<sup>4</sup> and for which he always retained a deep affection, as he said :

The reason why I love Derry is,  
For its quietness, for its purity;  
For 'tis full of angels white,  
From one end to the other.

<sup>1</sup> See II, xlvii notes.

<sup>2</sup> See Preface, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> St. Finnian of Clonard died in the same plague in 549.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Old Irish Life, he sent his monks to cut wattles for a church in Derry. Skene, C. S. ii. 483.

We know, however, very little of its history in its earliest days, nor are there any existing memorials of them except 'St. Columb's Wells'. While he was at Derry he thought of going to Rome and Jerusalem, and did go to Tours, whence he brought the gospel that had been on Martin's bosom 100 years in the earth, and he left it in Derry.<sup>1</sup>

Some time in the sixth century he founded a second monastery, which became his principal Irish establishment, namely that of Durrow, in Irish *Dair-Magh*, Oak Plain, and so, like Derry, named from its oak groves. It is not far from the centre of Ireland, on the border of King's County and Westmeath. The site appears to have been obtained from Aedh, son of Brendan, prince of the territory, and Bede thus refers to the foundation: 'Fecerat autem, priusquam Britanniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus roborum, cognominatur.'<sup>2</sup> Adamnan mentions several incidents of Columba's residence at Durrow, and if the famous *Book of Durrow* had been really the work of St. Columba it would probably have been executed at this time.<sup>3</sup> There are now no memorials of Columba at Durrow but a well; the fine sculptured cross is doubtless of much later date.

§ 5. *Other monasteries.* During the fifteen years between 546 and 562, Columba founded other monasteries, the dates of which cannot be fixed.<sup>4</sup> The most famous of these was that of Kells, but it does not seem to have risen to great eminence during Columba's life, though after the decline of Iona in the ninth century it became the chief monastery of the Columban order. Kells, formerly Kenlis (Head Fort), anciently Cenannus, is situated in the north-west portion of the county of Meath, and, according to a traditional story, was made over to Columba by King Diarmait as an atonement for an insult he had received from some 'soldiers of the royal guard', or whatever the king's retainers may have been. The so-called 'St. Columba's House' at Kells, and 'St. Kevin's Kitchen' at Glenda-

<sup>1</sup> Old Irish Life in Skene, C. S. ii. 483.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See above, IV, § 13, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Reeves gives lists of churches which may with more or less reason be attributed to Columba: ed. 1857, 276-85, and 289-98, 1874, xlix-lxxi. It is now said that there are traces of fifty-five dedications to St. Columba in Scotland, and forty-one in Ireland. And there is one in England, that of Topcliffe in Yorkshire.

lough, a very similar building altered to form the nave of a church, were supposed by Dr. Petrie to be of this period. Both these, however, as well as the sculptured crosses and round tower, are now believed to be of much later date, and there are no traces of the great church from the sacristy of which the *Book of Kells* or *Great Gospel of Columcille* was stolen in 1006. This famous codex is a larger book than the *Book of Durrow*, which may have been regarded as the *Smaller Gospel of Columcille*. But, if the *Book of Kells* was originally called the *Gospel of Columcille* only as belonging to one of his churches, it nevertheless remains as a splendid example, and indeed the chief existing monument, of Irish skill and taste in the art of illumination.

§ 6. *Supposed reasons for departure from Ireland.* We now come to consider the causes of St. Columba's departure from Ireland, and here we find ourselves in a maze of more or less probable legend. A great battle was fought in 561 at Cooldrevny or Culdreimhne, now Cooladrummon, a ridge about six miles north of Sligo, near the Connaught and Ulster boundary. According to the Irish accounts<sup>1</sup> the contending parties were, on the one side, Diarmait King of Ireland, who had granted Kells to Columba, but afterwards grievously offended him, and, on the other, Columba's kinsmen the Clan Neill, mustered by Columba himself. Accounts differ as to which side was taken by the men of Connaught. Columba had two principal grievances, namely, that Diarmait had (1) put to death his clansman the young prince Curnan, who had fled to him for protection after causing the death of a playfellow during the sports at Tara; (2) unjustly decided against him when appealed to about the ownership of a codex which he had at some time or other secretly transcribed from one belonging to St. Finnian (of Moville apparently). Finnian claimed the son-book or copy as having been made without his leave from a book which he had brought from Rome, Columba claimed the copy as being his own handiwork. Diarmait decided that to every book belongs its son-book as to every cow her calf. These and probably other causes led to the battle, during which Finnian is said to have prayed for

<sup>1</sup> See particularly O'Donnell, in Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 408 ff., and the English abstract in O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 328.

the South and Columcille for the North ;<sup>1</sup> the result was that the men of the North were completely victorious.<sup>2</sup> But now we come to two stories which may be regarded as sequels to the above. One is told by Adamnan (iii. 3), and according to this there was a synod at Teltown in Meath (presumably called together at the instance of Diarmait) at which Columba was excommunicated. St. Brendan of Birr, however, took his part, alleging a miracle in his favour, whereupon the excommunication was withdrawn and Columba treated with reverence and respect. It has been thought, however, that the censure which had been expressed, together with some searchings of heart on account of the strife that had been stirred up and the blood that had been shed, may have had something to do with his leaving Ireland. The other story is an Irish legend to the effect that after the battle of Culdreimhne he went to his soul-friend or confessor, St. Laisren or Molaise of Devenish (Daimh Inis) in Lough Erne, and that the saint bade him leave Ireland as a penance, and go and win souls for Christ as many as the lives that had been lost in the battle, and never look upon his native land again or set foot upon its soil. The story of St. Columba's life can hardly be told without these legends, but, as Reeves points out, there is no need to look for any other motive than that stated by Adamnan, 'Pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit' (Pref. 2). This statement implies, he thinks,<sup>3</sup> that Columba went of his own accord, 'in good spirits', as the Old Irish Life says, and the same is thought to be implied in the

<sup>1</sup> The metrical version of Columba's prayer on this occasion contains the singular expression *mo drui* . . . *Mac Dé*, My Druid . . . the Son of God, *Chron. Scotorum* 52, or, as quoted in Reeves's note on *Magi, Is e mo drai Crist mac De* (ed. 1857, p. 74).

<sup>2</sup> According to the legend of the Cathach or 'Battler', Columba obtained possession of his 'son-book'. A mutilated Psalter, regarded in the eleventh century as the one copied by Columba as above stated, and then provided with a *cumdach* or silver shrine, has remained to this day in the hereditary keeping of the O'Donnells, and is at present deposited by them in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It was carried by the clan to insure victory in battle so lately as 1497, slung round the breast of its hereditary keeper. It is written in a small round hand without much ornament, and has been considered to be quite possibly a genuine autograph of St. Columba. See Anderson, 147-9; Joyce, *Hist.* p. 19. But see above, IV, § 10, note 2. Its text is the Vulgate, with Old Latin readings. See *Notes and Queries*, 11 Ser. xi, 466.

<sup>3</sup> But the words are quite consistent with either of the traditional explanations.

Salamanca *Acta SS.* col. 847, quoted by Reeves in his note on the above passage,<sup>1</sup> which should be consulted for further references. And, moreover, the men of the Dalriadan colony were to Columba what the Jews were to St. Paul, his 'kinsmen according to the flesh'. Besides, his connexion with Ireland was fully kept up. We shall find that he returned more than once, and took a prominent part in Irish affairs. His reputation in Ireland at that time would not greatly suffer if he did show himself to be resentful or vindictive, or take a leading part as a man of war. Public opinion was then but very imperfectly developed on such points, very little leavened by the doctrine of Christ. In the ancient annals of Ireland are numerous entries of faction-fights between different monastic fraternities, and till the time of Adamnan, about 700, the clergy bore weapons to synods, and sometimes fought with them. The tribal organization aggravated ill-feeling, and even the women fought, and as fiercely as the men.<sup>2</sup> It is no marvel then if Columba, a leading spirit in the great clan of the northern Hy-Neill, considering himself affronted by King Diarmait, incited his kinsmen to fight about matters which would be felt most keenly as closely touching their tribal honour. But at the same time, such a man as he was may very well, upon calm reflection, whether under the direction of a spiritual adviser or not, have considered that his enthusiasm and energies would be more worthily bestowed on missionary work than in maintaining the dignity of his clan. And he would naturally be attracted to that Irish colony which had been planted in North Britain, just over against the north-east coast of Ireland, about the time of his birth. For ruler<sup>3</sup> and people alike were his family connexions, their Christianity was in peril of extinction, and, if he could bring about a revival of religion among them, he might hope next to convert their near neighbours, the Pagan Picts. They had, moreover, sustained a great reverse in 560, when Brude King of the Picts had attacked them, driven them into the peninsula of Kintyre and other parts most remote from the mainland, and slain their 'King'. These misfortunes would not fail to engage the sympathies of Columba on their behalf.

<sup>1</sup> *Adamnan*, 1857, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Women were exempted from military service in 590 and 697, monks not till 804. Reeves, 1857, 255; 1874, xlviii; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 108-10.

<sup>3</sup> Conall Mac Comghail, sixth lord of British Dalriada.

## VII. COLUMBA IN IONA.

§ 1. *His departure from Ireland.* We are told by Cum-mian (cap. iv) that 'in those days', referring to the time when Columba was a young deacon with St. Finnian of Moville, he sailed over to Britain with twelve fellow-soldiers, his disciples. But Adamnan, who makes use of this passage in quite a different connexion,<sup>1</sup> carefully avoids the anachronism, and places Columba's departure after the battle of Cuil-dremhne,<sup>2</sup> in the forty-second year of his age, i.e. A.D. 563, when we find him in Britain with his kinsman Conall, king or lord of British Dalriada,<sup>3</sup> who, according to the Irish Annals, in the same year made to him a donation of the island of Iona. Bede ascribes this donation to the Picts, and places it later,<sup>4</sup> the whole truth probably being that the Pictish tribe, to whom the island had belonged before the coming of the Irish, still claimed it in some sense, and confirmed Conall's donation after they became Christian, and indeed because they had become Christian, as Bede intimates. It was on the confines of Scotie and Pictish jurisdiction, and formed a most desirable centre for missionary work. There is not the least hint that Columba either sought or obtained papal sanction for this mission, any more than Columbanus did for his mission to the Germans and Swiss.

§ 2. *Iona.* Iona<sup>5</sup> is a small island about three miles long

<sup>1</sup> III, iv, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> 'Anno secundo post', Praef. II, p. 87, 'duobus transactis annis', I, vii, p. 97. The writer of Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (see note on III, v, p. 168) mentions the miracle of the wine, then that of the submerged codex, and then gives an account of the mission to the Picts. *Tr. Th.* 326 a.

<sup>3</sup> I, vii, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> *H. E.* iii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The usual name 'Iona' has been suggested by a misreading of the adjective 'Ioua', confirmed by an imaginary connexion with 'Iona', the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin 'Columba'. Adamnan's practice is to put the names of islands as adjectives agreeing with *insula*. The root of *Ioua* is *Iou* or *Eo*, and Codex A always has *Ioua*, thus,

*Ioua*

which reading prevails also in Codd. C, F, S. Colgan took 'Iona' from an inaccurate transcript of Cod. A, and saw that it was an adjective, though not aware of its true form. In Irish writings the name occurs as Ia, hIe, hI, Eo, I, often with the addition of 'Columcille'. In Latin we find Hii, Eo, Hu, Hy, Hya, Hi, I, Iona, and the adjectives Ioua, Euea, Hiiensis, and Ionensis. The Saxon Chronicles have Ii and Hii. Scottish forms are Yi, Hii-columchille, Hy, Iona, Yona, I, Hii. On the monu-



from NE. to SW., and varying in breadth from one mile to a mile and a half. It is separated from the Ross of Mull by a sound or strait about a mile across. The surface is very uneven, the rocky bones protruding through the skin of turf in almost every part. The most prominent object is Dunii, the highest hill, which has an elevation of 330 feet. None of the other hills are over 200 feet. The rocks are mostly Laurentian gneiss, but there is some marble and other limestone. There are also many ice-borne masses of granite lying about, one of which is six feet out of the ground, eleven paces long, and four or five across at the ends, but broader in the middle. The soil, where not peat, of which it consists in the boggy hollows among the rocky hills, is calcareous sand, consisting entirely of the comminuted shells of two or three species of land snails which live and die in such countless numbers on the sheep-nibbled pastures near the sea, that the beds of sand, which drift like snow, are in some places twenty to thirty feet thick. These pastures are formed by the accumulation of sand and growth of grass, clover, thyme, &c., in what would otherwise be bays girded in by the rocks on the original coast-line. The principal of these is the Machar or western plain. The eastern or sheltered side of the island presents slopes of soil well fitted for ancient husbandry, at a time when drainage was unknown. The lake or morass called the Lochan Mor, which once afforded enough water to turn the abbey mill, is now drained, and the bed of the stream leading from it, at present about twelve feet deep, was quite dry in June 1893, though sometimes full enough to turn a mill. Indications of ancient ploughing may still be seen on hill-sides now devoted to pasturage, but much of the land at present under the plough has probably been so cultivated ever since the time of St. Columba. And not only did the little island afford a good proportion of pasture and corn land; the sound or *fretum* was, and is, like some of the rivers of Columba's

ments in the island Y is the prevailing form, but 'Iona' seems to be the true reading of the monument of the Prioress Anna, 1543, at the Nunnery church. Icolmkill, Ycolmkill, and Ecolmkill are the regular forms in legal documents, and Echoluim-cille is at present the recognized vernacular. On a gravestone of 1790 is I-Colm-kill. See further in Reeves, 1857, 258; 1874, cxxvii. 'Iona', although an incorrect form, has now become thoroughly established, and may therefore be used, under protest.

native Erin, *valde piscosum*.<sup>1</sup> The local features alluded to by Adamnan are the following: *Munitio Magna*, ii. 4; *Mons qui monasterio eminus supereminet*, i. 30; *Monticellus monasterio supereminens*, iii. 23; *Monticellus qui occidentali supereminet campulo*, iii. 16; *Colliculus Angelorum*, ii. 44, iii. 16; *Cuul-Eilne*, i. 37; *Campulus occidentalis*, i. 37, ii. 28, iii. 16; *Portus insulae*, i. 45, ii. 15, implied in ii. 45. Beside these may be mentioned *Port-na-Churaich*, at the southern end of the island, where Columba is said first to have landed, and, hard by, the hill crowned by the cairn *Cul ri Erin*. These places are identified, as far as possible, in the notes and index. The site of the ancient monastery was supposed by Dr. Skene to have been about four hundred yards to the north of the mediaeval ruins, but nothing can be traced except some earthworks on the west side, which may be prehistoric. He also considered that the great flat granite stone above mentioned marks the site of the refectory, and that it is the 'stone that was in the *Reclis* or monastery', mentioned as used for a table in the preface to a hymn attributed to St. Columba (*Liber Hymnorum*, H. B. S. i. 62).<sup>2</sup> On the whole, there seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that the present ruins are, as might be expected, on the original site. Any description of them would be outside the purpose of the present work.

§ 3. *His coming to Iona*. The Old Irish Life is to the same effect as Adamnan's with regard to Columba's reasons, namely, that, having made the circuit of all Erin, he desired to preach the word of God to the men of Alba, and to the Britons, and to the Saxons; that his age was forty-two when he went on his voyage, and that he lived thirty-four years in Alba. O'Donnell's Life (1532) contains the later traditions concerning the saint, and here we have the popular story of his voyage, a sequel to that of the penance enjoined by St. Molaise, namely, that he first landed on the island of Colonsay and climbed the highest hill, when, finding that Ireland was visible from that point, he would not remain, but sailed on to Iona, where he again climbed

<sup>1</sup> 'The large flounders of the Sound of Iona are still an important item in the diet of its people. The rocks and islets all around swarmed with seals, and their flesh seems to have been a favourite article of food.' (Duke of Argyll, *Iona*, 93.)

<sup>2</sup> On the topography of Iona, see Reeves, 1857, 413-33; *Iona* by the Duke of Argyll, 1889, ch. ii; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 95-101.

the most likely hill, and, being satisfied that Ireland was no longer in sight, founded his church on the island he had now reached. On each of the hills his point of observation is marked by a cairn called *Cul ri Erin* (Back upon Ireland). According to Irish Annals<sup>1</sup> he arrived on the night (eve) of Pentecost, May 12 in 563, and an old Irish quatrain states the number of his company thus, apparently including the twelve special disciples :

Illustrious the army that was in Hii,  
Thrice fifty in monastic rule ;  
With their *Curachs*, along the sea  
For rowing were three score men.

On Columba's arrival in Iona, two bishops attempted to conduct him out of the island, but when he told them what he knew about them they left the island to him. They were probably members of one of the Patrician 'colleges' or fraternities of seven bishops, ministering to the Dalriadan colonists, but O'Donnell supposes that they were Druids in disguise. The first thing which Columba and his companions would do would be to occupy any available buildings that they could find on the island, and then to supplement these by others, until they had established a fully-developed Celtic monastery, with church, cashel, and all complete. Adamnan indicates that their first buildings were of wood and wattles,<sup>2</sup> and we find no mention of any stone buildings in Iona of Columba's time, unless, perhaps, the kiln. The church is called 'oratorium', which term is the ordinary equivalent of *Duirthech*, oak building? while 'ecclesia' represents *Damhliag*, stone church. But in the small island called Eilean na Naoimh (Isle of Saints) there still remain some beehive cells<sup>3</sup> and other stone buildings of the first monastery that Columba founded after that of Iona. The many particulars that can be gathered from Adamnan respecting Iona have been most admirably classified by Bishop Reeves.<sup>4</sup> The Colum-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Chronicon Hyense* in Reeves, 1857, 370. <sup>2</sup> II, iii, n., xlv, n.

<sup>3</sup> Any of these early buildings may be of Columba's time. In Iona, in a valley between Dunii and Dunbhuirg, are the foundations of a cell measuring about 16 feet by 14, called the Culdees' Cell, and, on the higher ground above Port Laithrichean, a better-preserved one, about 6 or 7 feet by 9, retaining the sideposts of its doorway.

<sup>4</sup> *Adamnan*, 1857, 357-62 ; 1874, cxix-cxxii ; see also Skene's *Celtic Sc.* ii. 95-101, and above, p. 60, note 2.

ban mission there first planted afterwards embraced the whole region north of the firths of Forth and of Clyde, and gave to the Angles of Northumbria, through St. Aidan, Celtic Christianity and Celtic ecclesiastical art. The Lindisfarne Gospels, and many sculptured crosses and other works of the Celtic school, remain as abiding monuments of the source whence we first of all derived the Christianity of the North of England.

Columba appears to have laboured among the Irish settlers in the neighbourhood of Iona for about two years, and then to have journeyed through Glen More nan Albin, that mighty chasm which divides Scotland obliquely between Oban and Inverness, and so to the court of King Brude, in the immediate neighbourhood of the site now occupied by the latter town.<sup>1</sup> And just as St. Patrick had attacked Irish paganism at the court of King Laoghaire on the hill of Tara, so now St. Columba attacked Pictish paganism at the court of King Brude on the river Ness. Adamnan tells us that at first the king would not open his gates to the strangers, but that, when Columba made the sign of the cross and knocked, the bolts flew back and the gates were opened. We learn from the life of St. Comgall that Columba's companions were himself and St. Canice, who, being Irish Picts, were the better able to confer with the Picts of Britain. Like King Laeghaire at Tara, King Brude was at first influenced by his Druids to oppose the missionaries, but, as in the former case, his hostility was soon disarmed, and his conversion effected. Nor were his people long before they followed their leader, and the number of churches dedicated to St. Columba in that neighbourhood still bears witness to the mark which he made. During the nine years which followed Brude's conversion, Columba laboured diligently among the Picts, perfected himself in their language, and frequently visited the king, who granted or confirmed to him the possession of Iona. Sometimes, no doubt, he visited his monastery there, for he retained the headship as long as he lived, one of the brethren taking his place during his absences. All

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Reeves thought that Brude's residence was at Craig Phadrick, where there is a vitrified fort. (*Adamn.* 1857, 151 n.; 1874, 277.) But Dr. Skene considers that a ridge called Torvean, a part of which is encircled by ditches and ramparts, suits Adamnan's narrative better than the hill-fort does. (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 105 n.)

the lives of Columba refer to his meeting with opposition from the Druids. There was one in particular, named Broichan, who had been the king's foster-father and tutor, and who was greatly disconcerted, as was natural, by the conversion of Brude and his people. There is a story of Broichan and his Druids trying to stop Columba and his monks when they came forth from the enclosure of the king's residence to chant their evensong. The people were attracted by this new singing, and, when Columba lifted up his ringing voice in the words *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum : dico ego opera mea regi*, the Druids were afraid, and, we may suppose, retired. Broichan is said at another time to have raised an adverse storm just as Columba was embarking on Loch Ness, but the saint sailed away against the wind. Another story is that Broichan had an Irish captive maid whom he would not set free when Columba asked him to do so. The saint prophesied that the Druid's death would soon follow his refusal, and it was not long before his messengers came to say he was now dying, and willing to set the captive free. Columba blessed a pebble and told them to put it in water and give the water to Broichan to drink, and that he would then soon recover, provided that he gave the maiden her liberty. These directions were followed with the desired results, and the pebble was long preserved in the royal treasury. But, when King Brude required its aid, it could not be found, and so he died.<sup>1</sup> It was in 584, twenty years after his conversion, that his death took place, and he was succeeded by a Christian king, Gartnaidh son of Domelch, under whom the new-born Pictish Church continued to prosper.

§ 4. *Some recorded events.* To go back now to the recorded events of St. Columba's life. In 573 he instituted a festival at Iona in commemoration of his friend St. Brendan of Birr, who died in that year. At various unknown dates he founded churches in the neighbourhood

<sup>1</sup> Dr. G. T. Stokes says that a belief in pebbles as charms against diseases of man and beast still prevails among the Irish peasantry, and gives some references to articles on the subject *Ireland and Celtic Ch.* 124 n. and reff. Reeves, on ii. 33, refers to Martin's *Western Islands*, 134, 166, 183, 246, and to Ussher, *Works*, iii. 442. The *anguinum*, Intr. I, § 7, was probably a perforated pebble. A vast amount of information on heathen folk-lore and mythology in the lives of Celtic Saints will be found in Plummer's *Vitæ SS. Hib.* Intr. cxxix-clxxxviii.

of Iona ; Adamnan mentions Ethica (insula), Elena, Hinba, and Scia. In 574 died Conall, lord of the British Dalriads, and his cousin Aedhan was inaugurated by St. Columba at Iona.<sup>1</sup> In the following year (575) Columba and Aedhan both attended the famous convention of Drumceatt, a long mound now called the Mullagh, or Daisy Hill, in the county of Londonderry, near Newtownlimavaddy. It was afterwards thought necessary to reconcile this and other visits to Ireland with the terms of the penance enjoined on Columba by St. Molaise,<sup>2</sup> and so there grew up a legendary story that he came with a sod of Alba under his feet, and with a cere-cloth, woollen cap, and cowl over his eyes.<sup>3</sup> The convention was called by Aedh son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, in 575, and consisted, says Skene, 'of all the petty kings and heads of tribes and of the principal clergy in Ireland', as well as a large ecclesiastical contingent brought by Columba. The bard Dallan Forgaill, in the *Amhra* or panegyric referred to above (i. § 8), states their number thus :

His company was forty priests,  
Twenty bishops of noble worth ;  
For the psalm-singing, without dispute,  
Thirty deacons, fifty youths (*lit.* 'sons').<sup>4</sup>

This retinue probably included representative men from Derry and other Columban monasteries in Ireland, together with some from Iona and perhaps from other places thereabout. The *Amhra* mentions three causes for which Columba came, viz. the liberation of Scanlann, a state prisoner, the protection of the Bards, and pacification between Erin and Alba with respect to Dalriada. He did not effect the first object. What he did for the Bards has been related above (i. § 8). He and Aedhan together obtained for Dalriada that it should pay no more tribute to the King of Ireland, but should join in military, though not in maritime expeditions when called upon. Thus Dalriada became an allied though not a subject state, and it is supposed that on his return Columba obtained from King Brude a recognition of Aedhan as independent king

<sup>1</sup> Columba appears to have been *anmcara* or soul-friend to Aedhan.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Reeves, 1857, 322 ; 1874, lxxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Skene says fifty deacons, thirty students, and points out that the original reference was for the convention of Drumceatt. *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 123.

over the British Dalriads. It was at this convention that the influence of Columba procured a decree exempting women from military service.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the circumstances related by Adamnan belong to Columba's life in Iona, e.g. the foundations of Campus Lunge and Artchain existing in Tiree, a monastery, seemingly connected with penitential discipline, in Hinba insula, and a hermitage at Muirbulmar.<sup>2</sup> We read also that four founders of monasteries came from Ireland to visit Columba in Hinba, viz. Comgall of Bangor and Cainnech of Aghaboe, who had gone with him to King Brude, Brendan of Clonfert, and Cormac the founder of some monastery unknown, for whom Columba, through King Brude, sought the protection of the chieftain of the Orkneys when he (Cormac) went in search of a solitary island for a hermitage. This must have been before 577, when St. Brendan of Clonfert died. About 579 there was some disputed point, probably connected with jurisdiction, about a church near Coleraine, on which St. Columba and St. Comgall could not agree. Hence resulted the battle of Coleraine, on the debatable ground between the Dal-Araidhe, the kinsmen of St. Comgall, and the Hy-Neill, those of St. Columba. It does not appear which side came off victorious, or how far the ecclesiastical chiefs were responsible for the fighting. Some time about 585 Columba was in Ireland for some months on business connected with his new foundation of Durrow, and at this time he visited Clonmacnoise.<sup>3</sup> In 587 was fought the battle of Cuilfedha near Clonard, in which again St. Columba is said to have been concerned. A Preface to his hymn *Altus Prosator* attributes its composition to a desire for 'forgiveness for the three battles he had caused in Erin'.<sup>4</sup> He was *anmcara*, soul-friend, or spiritual director to at least one saint and two kings (Warren, p. 148), and doubtless to many others. In 593, the thirtieth year of his life at Iona, he thought he was going to die, but, after a vision of angels, he foretold that his departure would be delayed for four years.<sup>5</sup> At the end of this period, just after the midnight between June 8 and 9,

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *Celtic Church*, 109.

<sup>2</sup> For these places and the reff. see Index.

<sup>3</sup> Adamnan, I, iii, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Hymnorum*, H. B. S. ii. 24; Reeves, 1857, 253; 1874, xlvii  
On the earlier battle see above, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Adamnan, III, xxii, p. 180.

597, he was found lying before the altar in a dying state, and very shortly after, having given his blessing to the monks who had gathered together, he passed to the Lord as he lay in the arms of Diormit, his attendant.<sup>1</sup> The long chapter which describes the closing scenes of St. Columba's life is to a great extent Cumman's, but Adamnan introduces some beautiful and touching incidents, e.g. that of the white horse weeping with its head on the saint's bosom, as foreseeing his death. The last thing Columba did before going into the church for the last time was transcribing the Psalter, and the last verse he wrote was *Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono*. And here, he said, I must stop, let Baithene write the rest. The whole narrative is most interesting, and may be compared with Bede's account of the death of Boisil,<sup>2</sup> and with the letter of Cuthbert abbot of Jarrow on the death of Bede.<sup>3</sup>

§ 5. *Adamnan's summary*. In the latter part of his second Preface, Adamnan gives a short but expressive summary of St. Columba's characteristics both of body and mind. One was that he could not bear to be idle even for an hour, he must always be doing something, which rather reminds us of Eddius's graphic touch about St. Wilfrid, that he was *pedibus velox*.<sup>4</sup> It is of men like Columba and Wilfrid of whom it may be said with a special significance, that 'their works do follow them'. There are some life-like touches in Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (*Tr. Th.* 327 a) where he speaks of St. Columba taking off the brethren's shoes, after their labours, and washing their feet in warm water, like St. Cuthbert :

he walde come forthe, and paim mete,  
And with hate water wesche þair fete.

*Metr. Life*, 2261 : Bede, *Vit. S. C.* xviii.

<sup>1</sup> Adamn. iii. 23. He was buried at Iona after the usual exequies. Adamnan speaks of his body as being there when he wrote. So again Bede, *H. E.* iii. 4. A fragmentary passage in the Book of Armagh (c. 807) expresses the belief that the bones of St. Columcille had been brought to Saul, near Downpatrick, in Ireland. Gwynn, p. 31, col. 1. For a modern tradition (1893), see *Intr.* VI, § 1 n. The Annals of Tighearnach and of Ulster record a series of enshrinings which took place in Ireland in the eighth century. See Reeves, 1857, 312-18. It is impossible to know what became of his relics at last; many places, including Durham, claimed to have portions of them.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. S. Cuthb.* viii.

<sup>3</sup> Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* i. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Adamnan, end of Praef. II, p. 87. Eddii *Vita Wilfridi*, 3.



Often would he carry a bag of flour on his shoulders from the mill to the kitchen. In fastings, vigils, prayers, meditations, preachings, and other works of charity, he was unwearied beyond belief. He used a stone for a pillow, and would lie on the ground, with only a leather hide under him. And, notwithstanding all his austerities, he was worthy to be admired by all for his handsome face, his ruddy cheeks, and his well-nourished appearance. The mortifications become still more severe in O'Donnell's Life (*Tr. Th.* 437).

§ 6. *Columba's works.* It has been already mentioned that Columba was a poet, and in all probability a member of the order of the Bards. Three Latin hymns are attributed to him, viz. *Altus Prosator* and its complement *In te Christe*, with a third beginning *Noli Pater*. There are also two Irish poems, viz. the *Farewell to Aran*, and a poem on the occasion of his flight from King Diarmait, as well as several others which have less claim to be considered genuine. Dr. Reeves prints three of these, which are at any rate very ancient, with translations. Each of the Latin hymns has a preface describing the occasion of its composition.<sup>1</sup>

The so-called *Rule of St. Columba*, printed in Irish and English in Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 119, Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 508 (English only), and elsewhere, is not a Rule at all corresponding to St. Benedict's, but rather a collection of maxims for a solitary who was to live in a cell contiguous to a monastery.<sup>2</sup> Colgan, who lived before the dispersion of Irish MSS., knew of no other Rule of St. Columba, and to this one he attached very little importance.<sup>3</sup>

§ 7. *His religious opinions.* A few words may be said about the religion of St. Columba and of the Scotie Church in his time. It was certainly neither 'Roman' nor 'Protestant', in the ordinary sense of those terms; the modern

<sup>1</sup> On the Latin Hymns see *Liber Hymnorum*, H. B. S. ii. 142-72; Dict. of Hymnology, art. *Altus Prosator*; on these and the Irish poems Reeves, *Adamn.* 1857, lxxviii, 264; 1874, xl; Healy, 326. For a remarkable legend concerning the *Altus*, see O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 76.

<sup>2</sup> There are foundations which may be those of a *Disert* or hermit's cell, eight paces long by four across inside, at *Cladh an Disert* (cemetery of the *Disert*) two or three fields to the NE. of St. Mary's at Iona. Here was found a fragment of a cross with figure on it, and near it the stone with a cross on it called St. Columba's pillow. On such cells see Reeves, 1857, 366, 418; 1874, cxxiv, cxxxvi; O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 374.

<sup>3</sup> On this and other Irish Rules see Reeves, *Adamn.* 1857, 336; 1874, ci.

system that comes nearest to it is that of the Churches of the Anglican Communion as understood by the school which has arisen out of the Tractarian movement. We find evidence of Confession, public, however, rather than private, optional rather than compulsory, and absolution was usually deferred till the penance had been performed;<sup>1</sup> of Invocation of Saints<sup>2</sup> and confidence in their protection; of belief in the Real Presence; of the practices of fasting<sup>3</sup> and penance, of prayers for the departed, and of the sign of the Cross. But we find no indication of the 'worship' now offered to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, nor of Unction of the sick in any form, nor the least allusion to any supremacy in the See of Rome, or indeed to any connexion therewith. The atmosphere of miracle, in which Adamnan lived when he wrote, was that of the times, and is very similar to what we find in Bede. Everything was thought possible or even probable when related as a miracle. Adamnan told the stories as they were told to him or to Cumman, perhaps with a little unconscious infusion of the miraculous element. Some have found it impossible to explain such narratives without attributing deliberate invention to the narrator.<sup>4</sup> The 'story of the staff' (ii. 14) has been instanced as a case of this kind. There is no need, however, to doubt that in Adamnan's mind a very simple matter had assumed a miraculous complexion. If St. Columba sent St. Cainnech's staff after him by some ship which reached the Oidechan island sooner than his own, this would explain the facts, and what was first believed to be providential would very soon be regarded as miraculous, and related as such in all good faith, with 'the exaggerations (and suppressions) of detail which transform the providential into the miraculous', but without any intention to deceive.

<sup>1</sup> Warren, p. 148, and see above, IV, § 12, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Invocation of Saints has not been revived by authority in the Church of England.

<sup>3</sup> Some genuine tradition of St. Columba's asceticism is probably enshrined in the curious story that he resolved to take nettle pottage without any dripping or fat, and that he became so thin that the impression of his ribs through his woollen tunic was seen in the sandy beach at Iona, where he used to lie at night. And it was said that Diormit his gillie contrived a tubular stick by means of which he secretly introduced butter into the pottage of nettles, whereby he brought upon himself a severe rebuke. (*Tr. Th.* 436; *Mart. Doneg.* 165; *Cal. of Oengus* c; *H. B. S.* 147.)

<sup>4</sup> c. g. the Duke of Argyll, *Iona*, p. 45.

## VIII. COLUMBA'S SUCCESSORS, UP TO AND INCLUDING ADAMNAN

During the eighty-two years that passed between the death of St. Columba and the accession of his biographer Adamnan, the ninth abbot of Iona, seven abbots presided over the house. A short notice of each of these will serve to connect the lives of Columba and Adamnan.<sup>1</sup>

§ 1. Columba was succeeded by his first cousin Baithene, 597-600, whom he had brought up as his foster-child, and who to the last was one of his most intimate associates. Having been a monk in Derry, he came with St. Columba from Ireland, as one of 'the twelve', and presided over the monastery of Magh-Lunge in Tیره, a penitential house, occasionally visiting and performing duties in Iona and elsewhere. There is a curious story of his seeing three empty chairs in heaven ready for St. Ciaran, St. Columba, and himself. He was sometimes employed in copying manuscripts. He was full of the spirit of prayer; while walking his hands were clasped under his habit; while reaping he prayed as he carried the handfuls of oats, and at his meals he would say *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* between every two morsels of food. Having ruled in Iona for three years, he fainted by the altar on June 4, 600. The brethren wept around him, and Diormit, Columba's old attendant, thinking he was dying, remarked how small an interval would separate the feast days of the two abbots. Baithene opened his eyes, and prayed that he might be taken on the same day as his dear master. His prayer was heard, and he, like Columba, departed on the 9th day of June. Columba used to liken him to John the beloved disciple, and he was afterwards said to have had no equal on this side the Alps in knowledge of Holy Scripture.

§ 2. Baithene was succeeded, 600-605, by Laisren the third abbot, whose father, Feradach, was first cousin both of himself and of St. Columba. Laisren was a pupil of St. Columba, and was with him and Diormit at Ardnamurchan in 572. He was in charge of Durrow, and superintending building operations there, during St. Columba's

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars, see the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* under the names, where a great number of references to earlier works will be found, also the digest of facts under each name in Reeves, 1857, 370-6, 1874, cxlvii-cxlix; Healy, 331-4.

life. From the abbacy of Durrow he was raised to that of Iona on the death of St. Baithene.

§ 3. The next abbot was Fergna Brit, 605-23, said to have been a bishop, but Dr. Reeves thinks there could not have been a bishop-abbot at Iona so early. He was of noble Irish descent, of the same race as St. Columba, but not so nearly related to him as his predecessors had been. Adamnan calls him Virgnous. His surname may indicate that he was of British descent; if he was, it would of course be on the mother's side; cf. Colgan, *Acta SS.* 448 a. He ruled in Iona from 605 to 623, but no events of his abbacy are recorded on any good authority.

§ 4. Seghine, 623-52, nephew of Laisren the third abbot, succeeded, and during his abbacy he was connected with some very important affairs, though of his private life we know very little. He founded a church on Rechra island in 634, and he cherished recollections of St. Columba and his times, which he imparted to those who related them to Adamnan. He was a leading advocate of the Celtic Easter observance, and hence a letter addressed to him by one Cummian in 634, but the identification of this Cummian with the seventh abbot of Iona is very doubtful.<sup>1</sup> His letter to Seghine<sup>2</sup> was sent in reply to his being charged with being a schismatic, and a forsaker of his country's traditions. In this letter Cummian says ironically: 'Roma errat; Hierosolyma errat; Antiochia errat; totus mundus errat; soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt!' The letter is valuable as showing the position taken up by the advocates of that more correct calculation of Easter which at last prevailed, and the learning with which it could be supported. But Seghine remained unconvinced. In 640 he may have been included as 'Segenus presbyter' among the Irish clergy whom John IV, while pope elect, addressed on the same subject. It was during Seghine's abbacy that Oswald king of Northumbria applied to the Scotie Church for a missionary bishop, and that, after the return of one<sup>3</sup> who was unsuccessful, St. Aidan was consecrated, and sent out as first bishop of Lindisfarne. Having ruled for twenty-nine years, Seghine died in 652. His festival is Aug. 12.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dict. Christian Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *P. L.*, 87, 969.

<sup>3</sup> Named Corman, but only on the doubtful authority of Hector Boëthius, c. 1470-1536. See AIDAN, and CORMAN, in *Dict. Chr. Biography*.

§ 5. He was succeeded by Suibhne, 652-7, the sixth abbot, son of Cuirtri, of whose genealogy nothing is known. Colgan has a short notice of him at Jan. 11, containing nothing of importance.

§ 6. The seventh abbot was Cuimine Ailbhe, 657-669 (surnamed also Fionn or *Albus*, the Fair), nephew of Seghine the fifth abbot. He wrote a book *De virtutibus Sancti Columbae*, which has been transferred by Adamnan into his own pages, and is mentioned by him in the fifth chapter of his third book. He probably went to Iona to be under his uncle Seghine, and on the death of Suibhne the family succession was restored in him. There is a Life of him in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 408. We have seen above, p. 70, that he is to be distinguished from the Cumman who advocated the Roman Easter. He died in 669.

§ 7. The next in the succession was Failbhe, 669-79, who was great-grandson of Duach, first-cousin of Columba and of Baithene. He is twice mentioned by Adamnan, and is said to have twice revisited Ireland.<sup>1</sup> All the annals record a journey in 673 and a return in 676. The Paschal controversy and missionary enterprise have both been suggested as possible reasons for his going into Ireland. St. Maelrubha, abbot of the Irish Bangor, went on a mission to the north-west of Scotland about that time. Failbhe died in 679. His festival is March 22.

§ 8. Adamnan, 679-704, the ninth abbot, and author or compiler of the *Life of St. Columba*, was born twenty-seven years after the death of the latter, namely, c. 624, and probably in SW. Donegal. His father, Ronan, was great-great-grandson of Sedna, uncle of St. Columba; his mother, Ronnat, was connected with an important race. His name, Adamnan, is a diminutive of Adam, either double, *-an + an*, or a compound with *nán*, 'little' (*nanus*), and appears in various forms.<sup>2</sup> Nothing whatever is known of his early

<sup>1</sup> Colgan, *Acta SS.* 717.

<sup>2</sup> The consonants d, m are first aspirated (dh, mh), and then, being thus weakened, are finally lost, so that we have the forms Ownan, Eunan, &c. St. Eunan, the patron of Raphoe, has been wrongly supposed to have been a different person from St. Adamnan. Sir James Ware represents Raphoe as founded by Columba, repaired by Adamnan, and made a cathedral by 'St. Eunan'. Works, 1705, under 'Bps. of Rapho', p. 53. Pope Clement XII sanctioned a mass of 'St Eunan' for Sept. 7, on which day the Bollandists and Alban Butler have notices of this same fictitious saint. The names of Irish saints are sometimes

history. A curious story of his schoolboy life, improbable, though not impossible, is told in the life of Finnachta the Festive, subsequently monarch of Ireland.<sup>1</sup> The Aberdeen Breviary represents him as admitted to be a monk by St. Columba, and even Baronius in the Roman Martyrology (Jun. 9) makes him contemporary (*aequalis*).

§ 9. He was doubtless brought up in some of the monastic schools, and, when he decided to be a monk, his thoughts would naturally turn to Iona, where Seghine his kinsman had been abbot during the whole of his life. Seghine lived till Adamnan was twenty-eight. During his time, and that of Suibhne, Cuimine, and Failbhe, we may suppose that Adamnan so progressed in piety, learning, and influence, as to be distinctly marked out among his kinsmen for the chair of St. Columba. Dr. Reeves thinks that there is sufficient evidence to justify Hugh Ward in the statement, 'Edoctus est omnes liberales, sacras et asceticas disciplinas, linguas etiam Hebraicam et Graecam; et quidquid patria lingua (in qua tum pleraeque scientiae et Druydum quae non fuere damnata dogmata) scriptum esset vel artium, vel legum, vel historiarum'.<sup>2</sup> His works show that he could write Latin, not classical indeed, but good of its kind, quite different from that of St. Patrick for example; also that he had at least an interest in and some slight knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Bede, Ceolfrid, Alcuin, Fordun, and Irish writers, all bear high testimony to his learning and goodness.<sup>3</sup> In II, xlv, p. 159, we find him on three occasions out with the sailors when they went to the mainland for timber, &c. In 675 Finnachta, mentioned above, succeeded as monarch, and it is said that Adamnan was his *anmcara* or spiritual director.

§ 10. In 679 Adamnan, being now fifty-five years of age, succeeded to the chair of St. Columba. Bruide, son of

much disguised by phonetic changes, and by the endearing prefix mo (= my), as we say 'Our Lord' and 'Our Lady', and the diminutives -an and -og. Thus from Aedh we have Aedhan (Aidan), and also Mo-aedh-og, or Moedhog, pronounced Mogue. Further, we have the last letter of 'Saint' attracted, as in Tedan for St. Aidan, Tanton for St. Antony, Tooley and Tulus for St. Olaf, and Tobin for St. Aubin. Thus Eunan (Adamnan) appears as Deunan, Teunon, and Thewnan in Scotland. (See Reeves, 1857, lxi. 256; 1874, clxiv, clxix; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 115 n.)

<sup>1</sup> Reeves, 1854, xlii; 1847, cxlix.

<sup>2</sup> Vardaei *S. Rumoldi Acta*, &c. Lovanii, 1662, p. 218; in Reeves; 1854, xliii.

<sup>3</sup> Reeves, 1854, lvii; 1847, clxi.

Bile, king of the Picts, was now his contemporary, and appears to have been his intimate friend. In the Irish Life of Adamnan is a curious story of this king's burial at Iona in 693. Aldfrith or Ealdfrith, the Northumbrian prince who succeeded his brother Ecgrith as king in 685, was at the time of Adamnan's accession (679) a refugee in Ireland, and during his exile was under instruction with Irish monks, for some time at least, according to the author of the early anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert,<sup>1</sup> at Iona, which is in accordance with the statement of Bede, 'in insulis Scottorum ob studium literarum exulabat'.<sup>2</sup> The Irish knew Aldfrith as 'Flann Fina mac Ossa', from Fina his alleged mother and Oswiu his father. It was probably his connexion with Ireland through his mother that determined the place of his retirement and education. He was called the foster-son or *alumnus* of Adamnan, and when he came to the throne he readily restored sixty Irish captives whom his brother's general had carried away from Meath. It was probably with this object, among others, that Adamnan visited the Northumbrian court in the first year of Aldfrith's reign, and perhaps at the instance of King Finnachta. He appears to have kept up frequent communication with Aldfrith, to whom he presented his book *De Locis Sanctis*. While in Northumbria, he came under the influence of men more learned than himself, and changed his earlier convictions with regard to the Roman Easter and other observances.<sup>3</sup> But he was unable to convince the brethren at Iona. In 692, he visited Ireland on political as well as ecclesiastical business, and appears to have been opposed to his old friend King Finnachta, and to have prophesied that his life should soon be cut off by fratricide, for that he had not given the same privileges to the lands of Columcille as were enjoyed by those of Patrick, Finnian, and Ciaran. And Finnachta fell by the hand of his cousin in 695. Adamnan seems to have been far more successful in promoting the new Easter observances, &c. in Ireland than he had been in Iona. He again visited Ireland, in 697, for legislative purposes, and it is thought that he compiled his *Life of St. Columba* between this visit and the former one. In the *Life* he but slightly alludes to the Paschal controversy,<sup>4</sup> and it has

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. § 6.<sup>2</sup> *Vit. S. Cuthb.* xxiv.<sup>3</sup> Bede, *H. E.* v. 15, 21.<sup>4</sup> See p. 96, l. 26.

been suggested that he wrote it for the Irish Columbans, who had accepted his later teaching, and not for those of Iona, who held out for the ancient Celtic traditions. This supposition is contradicted by such terms as *nostra insula* (applied to *Ioua insula*), *nostrum monasterium*, &c. The Rath of the Synods and the cross of Adamnan at Tara are supposed to be connected with a great convention held there during this second visit.<sup>1</sup> The enactments of this synod were called 'Lex Adamnani', as modern Acts of Parliament are often named after their chief promoters. The main object of this law appears to have been to renew St. Columba's measures for the exemption of women from military service, and the one thing said of Adamnan in the Calendar of Oengus is 'To Adamnan of Iona whose troop is radiant, noble Jesus granted the lasting liberation of the women of the Gael', with reference to which the *Leabhar Breac* gives the story about Adamnan having seen one woman dragging another by a reaping-hook fastened in her breast.<sup>2</sup> Adamnan seems to have remained in Ireland until 704, in which year he returned to Iona, where he soon after died. He had received the Roman tonsure in Ireland, and it is recorded by Mac Firbis, that 'it was a great surprise to his congregation to see him with that tonsure'.<sup>3</sup> He appears to have arrived after Easter in 704, and, as Bede points out, he was taken to his eternal rest before another Easter, and thereby delivered from any discord with the brethren on that subject (*H. E.* v. 15).

<sup>1</sup> Tara had been deserted for 134 years, in consequence, as is said, of a curse pronounced upon it by St. Ruadan in 563 (for a picturesque account of which see O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. ii. 336), when the last assembly of the tribes under a king was held. But it has never ceased to be regarded as a great national centre. The Rath of the Synods is so called from synods said to have been held therein by SS. Patrick and Brendan, as well as this by St. Adamnan. Other memorials at Tara are Adamnan's 'pavilion' (site), 'chair', mound, and cross. Daniel O'Connell held there what would now be called 'a monster gathering' in 1843. 'There was a million and a half with Dan', said the widow Keelan (cp. p. 50 n.). And a modern statue of St. Patrick has been set up in the very centre of the central rath.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, 1857, 179; Stokes, *Cal. Oeng.* lxiv, cxxxix, cxlvi; we find that 'the four rules or laws of Ireland' were Patrick's, not to slay clerics; Adamnan's, not to slay women; Dari the nun's, not to kill or steal oxen or kine; and the law of Sunday, not to transgress thereon. *H. B. S.* 196, 211.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Annals, in Reeves, lvi. See Bcde, *H. E.* v. 21, Plummer's ed. I, 344, 345.



He died on the 23rd of September, but we have no further record of the circumstances of his death or burial. The church of Skreen in co. Sligo is said to derive its name from a shrine of Adamnan preserved there.<sup>1</sup>

§ 11. *His place in history, &c.* Adamnan may be regarded as a sort of link between an earlier and a later phase in the history of the ancient Church of Ireland. He was brought up in the 'old learning', but he adopted and promoted the Roman Easter and tonsure, to which the Celtic sentiment was so strongly and so long opposed. His undoubted writings are the work *De Locis Sanctis*, taken down on waxed tablets from Arculf's dictation, and then put into literary form, probably about 688, and the *Life of St. Columba*, compiled from earlier memoirs and the traditions of Iona, between 692 and 697. This *Life* is described by Pinkerton as 'the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but throughout the whole middle ages'; by Dr. Reeves, as 'an inestimable literary relic of the Irish Church: perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time', and as 'one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence'; by Bishop A. P. Forbes, as 'the solitary record of the history of the Church of Scotland, and, with the exception of Bede and the Pictish Chronicle, the chief trustworthy monument till we come to the Margaretan reformation'; by Montalembert, as 'un des monuments les plus vivants, les plus attrayants et les plus authentiques de l'histoire chrétienne'. And the Duke of Argyll well says, that 'we find in Columba's *Life*, not only the firm foothold of history, but the vivid portraiture of an individual man. . . . Not one historical character of the time . . . is in any similar degree known to us. On one spot, and one spot only, of British soil, there shines in this dark time a light, more vivid even than the light of common history—the light of personal anecdote and of domestic narrative. When we land upon Iona, we can feel that we are treading in the very footsteps of a man whom we have known in voice, in gesture, in habits, and in many peculiarities of character; and yet, of a man who walked on the same ground before the Heptarchy, when Roman cities still

<sup>1</sup> On the shrine or shrines of Adamnan, see Reeves, 1857, lxiii; 1874, clxv. So Skreen in Meath from a shrine of St. Columba.

stood in Britain, and when the ancient Christianized Celts of Britain were maintaining a doubtful contest with Teutonic heathenism'.<sup>1</sup>

Adamnan is said also to have written a *Life of St. Patrick*, certain poems, a work on Irish history, and an epitome of Irish laws.<sup>2</sup>

Many churches, wells, &c., are dedicated to him both in Ireland and in Scotland, and Reeves points out that the dedications to St. Columba and to St. Adamnan keep very close together.<sup>3</sup>

§ 12. *Schism in Iona*. After the death of Adamnan there was a schism in Iona between those who at last came over to his later views, and those who did not, and there appear to have been rival abbots. In 717 the Columban monks were expelled from the kingdom of the Picts. In 794 Iona was for the first of many times ravaged by Danish pirates. In 814 to 831 the monastery was rebuilt with stone and the shrine of St. Columba set up therein. In 878 the shrine and relics of St. Columba were taken to Ireland. In 1059-93 Queen Margaret rebuilt the monastery. But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Iona shared in the general decadence of the old Celtic Church, and in 1203 were founded a Benedictine abbey and nunnery in I, or Iona, in honour of God and of St. Columba. The ruins, still standing, are those of the buildings of this foundation, though probably imagined by many tourists to be those of St. Columba's monastery.

§ 13. *Adamnan's Latin style*. This introduction, which has perhaps extended to an undue length, may fitly close with Dr. Reeves's account of Adamnan's Latin style, from the memoir included in the appendix to his preface.

'Of Adamnan's two Latin works, the tract *De Locis Sanctis* is the better written and more flowing, but it bears a striking resemblance to the other in many particulars of style, and the use of peculiar words and phrases. In the following pages the readers will observe the liberal employment of diminutives<sup>4</sup> so characteristic of Irish composition; and he will find them, in many cases, used without any grammatical force, and commutable, in the same chapter, with their primitives. The same tendency is also observ-

<sup>1</sup> *Iona*, 55-7.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, 1857, lx; 1874, clxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Reeves, 1857, lxi-lxvii; 1874, clxiv-clxix.

<sup>4</sup> See Glossary, s. v. *Diminutiva*.

able among verbs in the use of frequentatives and intensives. He delights in the distributive numerals instead of cardinals, and in the adjective termination *-ax* where admissible.<sup>1</sup> He uses the pluperfect for the perfect, and the nominative instead of the ablative absolute. He occasionally employs Greek, or Greco-Latin words;<sup>2</sup> and in a few instances introduces Irish or Hiberno-Latin expressions. Proper names he sometimes inflects according to the rules of Irish grammar, so that in a Latin narrative they present an anomalous appearance. Above all, the artificial, and often unnatural, interweaving of his words, in long sentences, and the oft-recurring ablative absolute in awkward position, will strike the reader as remarkable features of the style.<sup>3</sup>

We may note too his habit of giving a Latin equivalent instead of or in addition to a native name, as is also done by Bede, Giraldus Cambrensis, Colgan, O'Sullivan Bear, and others. Such interpretations are of great value as being many of them given by men to whom the Irish language was the mother tongue, and when the place-names were well understood.

<sup>1</sup> Note also his use of adjectival forms agreeing with *insula* (*Ed.*).

<sup>2</sup> And Greek letters. Such uses of Greek are found in other early Irish writings (*Ed.*).

<sup>3</sup> There is a very full account of Adamnan's style in Geyer, *Adamnanus*, Augsb. 1895, pp. 39-47.

BISHOP HATFIELD'S HALL, DURHAM,  
June 9, 1894. (Revised, 1915 and 1919-20.)

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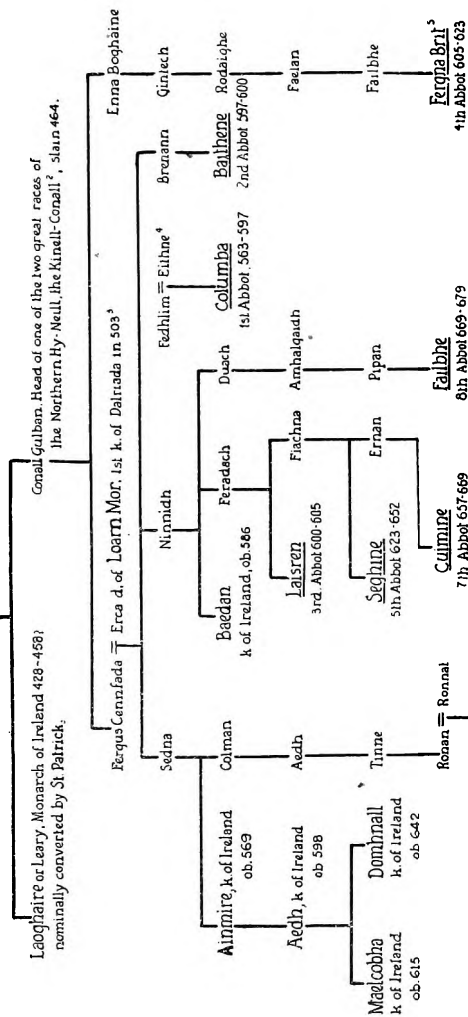
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# GENEALOGICAL TABLE

Niall 'of the Nine Hostages,' Monarch of Ireland 379-405<sup>1</sup>.



Suibhne, the son of Curtri, was the 6th Abbot 652-657, but gathling is known of his extraction.

- 1 According to ancient Irish tradition, Niall was killed by an arrow shot across the river Loire by Eochaidh, son of the king of Leinster, A.D. 405.
- 2 The other race, the Kinell Owen, were descended from Owen Gulban, another son of Niall. The Southern Hy-Neill were the descendants of Niall by another wife.
- 3 Succeeded by his brother Fergus Mor (2nd king), who was succeeded by his son Domhangart (3rd king), from whom were descended several kings, &c., who came into Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, and who were all related to him through his grandmother Erca.
- 4 Tenth in descent from Cathaer Mor, king of Ireland, A.D. 120.
- 5 The genealogy of Fergna Brit may be one generation too long.



# VITA SANCTI COLUMBAE

IN NOMINE IESU CHRISTI ORDITUR PRAEFATIO.

*The origin and character of the work.* Beati nostri Patroni, Christo suffragante, vitam descripturus, fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens, in primis eandem lecturos quosque admonere procurabo ut fidem dictis adhibeant compertis, et res magis quam verba perpendant, quae, ut aestimo, inculta et vilia esse videntur; meminerintque regnum Dei non in eloquentiae exuberantia, sed in fidei florulentia constare; et nec ob aliqua Scoticae, vilis videlicet linguae, aut humana onomata, aut gentium obscura locorumve vocabula, quae, ut puto, inter alias exterarum gentium diversas vilescunt linguas, utilium, et non sine divina opitulatione gestarum, despiciant rerum pronuntiationem. Sed et hoc lectorem admonendum putavimus, quod de beatae memoriae viro plura, studio brevitatis, etiam memoria digna, a nobis sint praetermissa, et quasi pauca de plurimis ob evitandum fastidium lectorum sint caraxata. Et hoc, ut arbitror, quisque haec lecturus forte annotabit, quod minima de maximis per populos fama de eodem beato viro divulgata disperserit, ad horum etiam paucorum comparisonem, quae nunc breviter caraxare disponimus. Hinc, post hanc primam praefatiunculam, de nostri vocamine praesulis in exordio secundae, Deo auxiliante, intimare exordiar.

IN NOMINE IESU CHRISTI SECUNDA PRAEFATIO.

*Significance of the name Columba.* Vir erat vitae venerabilis et beatae memoriae, monasteriorum pater et fundator, cum

2. Incipit prima praefatio apologiaque Adomnani abbatis sancti scriptoris in vitam S. Columbae confessoris et abbatis C. — vite sancti Columbae S. Incipit prologus Adamnani abbatis in vita sancti Columbae abbatis et confessoris D. om. F. *Codex B acephalus est, hodieque ad-* ro pectore verba in cap. 3 incipit. II. nomina anomala inepte Boll. 18. caraxata C. D. F. S. craxata A.; *octies in hac vita, quinque praeterea in tractatu De Locis Sanctis, haec forma, verisimiliter Adamnani propria, adhibetur. Stephanus Vitus, cuius apographo Codicis A. usi sunt Colganus et Bollandistae, exarare hic et alibi substituit, 'volens', ut ait Baertius, 'plus quam oportebat sapere'.* 26. Incipit praefatio secunda C. F. S. Incipit secundus prologus D.

Iona propheta homonymum sortitus nomen; nam licet diverso trium diversarum sono linguarum, unam tamen eandemque rem significat hoc, quod Hebraice dicitur IONA, Graecitas vero ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ vocitat, et Latina lingua COLUMBA nuncupatur. Tale tantumque vocabulum homini 5 Dei non sine divina inditum providentia creditur. Nam et iuxta Evangeliorum fidem Spiritus Sanctus super Unigenitum aeterni Patris descendisse monstratur in forma illius aviculae quae columba dicitur: unde plerumque in sacrosanctis libris columba mystice Spiritum Sanctum significare 10 dignoscitur. Proinde et Salvator in evangelio suo praecepit discipulis ut columbarum in corde puro insertam simplicitatem continerent; columba etenim simplex et innocens est avis. Hoc itaque vocamine et homo simplex innocensque nuncupari debuit qui in se columbinis mori- 15 bus Spiritui Sancto hospitium praebuit: cui nomini non inconvenienter congruit illud quod in Proverbiis scriptum est **Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multae**. Hic igitur noster praesul non immerito, non solum a diebus infantiae hoc vocabulo, Deo donante, adornatus, proprio 20 ditatus est, sed etiam praemissis multorum cyclis annorum ante suae nativitatis diem cuidam Christi militi, Spiritu revelante Sancto, quasi filius repromissionis mirabili prophetatione nominatus est. Nam quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus, Maucteus 25 nomine, ita de nostro prophetizavit Patrono, sicuti nobis ab antiquis traditum expertis compertum habetur. ‘In novissimis’, ait, ‘saeculi temporibus filius nasciturus est, cuius nomen Columba per omnes insularum oceani provincias divulgabitur notum; novissimaque orbis tempora 30 clare illustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum agelluli unius sepisculae intervallo disternabuntur: homo valde Deo carus, et grandis coram ipso meriti.’ Huius igitur nostri Columbae vitam et mores describens, in primis brevi sermonis textu, in quantum valuero, strictim compre- 35 hendam, et ante lectoris oculos sanctam eius conversationem pariter exponam. Sed et de miraculis eius succincte quaedam, quasi legentibus avidae praegustanda, ponam: quae tamen inferius, per tres divisa libros, plenius explicabuntur. Quorum Primus propheticas revelationes; Secundus 40 vero divinas per ipsum virtutes effectas; Tertius angelicas

4. ΠΗΡΙΣΤΗΡΑ A. F. S. ΝΗΠΙΟΤΗΤΑ peristera C. ΠΕΡΙΣΤΗΡΑ Cott.  
19. adiebus A.; duo verba saepe in cod. A. cohaerent.

apparitiones, continebit, et quasdam super hominem Dei  
 caelestis claritudinis manifestationes. Nemo itaque me de  
 hoc tam praedicabili viro aut mentitum aestimet, aut quasi  
 quaedam dubia vel incerta scripturum : sed ea quae maio-  
 5 rum fideliumque virorum tradita expertorum congrua rela-  
 tione narraturum, et sine ulla ambiguitate caraxaturum  
 sciat, et vel ex his quae ante nos inserta paginis reperire  
 potuimus, vel ex his quae auditu ab expertis quibusdam  
 fidelibus antiquis, sine ulla dubitatione narrantibus, dili-  
 10 gentius sciscitantes, didicimus.

*St. Columba's parentage, mission, and character.* Sanctus  
 igitur Columba nobilibus fuerat oriundus genitalibus, patrem  
 habens Fedilmithum filium Ferguso ; matrem Aethneam  
 nomine, cuius pater Latine Filius Navis dici potest, Sco-  
 15 tica vero lingua Mac Naue. Hic anno secundo post Cule-  
 drebinae bellum, aetatis vero suae xlii., de Scotia ad  
 Britanniam pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit. Qui  
 et a puero Christiano deditus tirocinio, et sapientiae studiis  
 integritatem corporis et animae puritatem, Deo donante,  
 20 custodiens, quamvis in terra positus, caelestibus se aptum  
 moribus ostendebat. Erat enim aspectu angelicus, ser-  
 mone nitidus, opere sanctus, ingenio optimus, consilio  
 magnus, per annos xxxiv. insulanus miles conversatus.  
 Nullum etiam unius horae intervallum transire poterat,  
 25 quo non aut orationi aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam  
 alicui operationi, incumberet. Ieiunationum quoque et  
 vigiliarum indefessis laboribus sine ulla intermissione die  
 noctuque ita occupatus, ut supra humanam possibilitatem  
 uniuscuiusque pondus specialis videretur operis. Et inter  
 30 haec omnibus carus, hilarem semper faciem ostendens  
 sanctam, Spiritus Sancti gaudio intimis laetificabatur prae-  
 cordiis.

I. contenebit A.

6. craxaturum A. exaraturum Colg. Boll.

11. Incipit liber primus de propheticis revelationibus C. S. Explicit  
 secundus prologus in vita sancti Columbe abbatis et confessoris Incipit  
 primus liber in vita sanctissimi Columbe abbatis et confessoris D.

## NUNC PRIMI LIBRI CAPITULATIONES ORDIUNTUR

- DE virtutum miraculis brevis narratio. (I.)
- De sancto Finteno abbate, Tailchani filio, quomodo de ipso  
sanctus Columba prophetavit. (II.) 5
- De Erneneo, filio Craseni, prophetia eius. (III.)
- De adventu Cainnichi quomodo prænuntiavit. (IV.)
- De periculo sancti Colmani gente Mocusailni sancto Co-  
lumbae revelato. (V.)
- De Cormaco nepote Letha prophetationes eius. (VI.) 10
- De bellis. (VII, VIII.)
- De regibus. (IX-XV.)
- De duobus pueris secundum verbum eius in fine septimanae  
mortuis. (XVI.)
- De Colcio filio Aido Draigniche, et de quodam occulto 15  
matris ipsius peccato. (XVII.)
- De signo mortis eiusdem viri prophetia sancti Columbae.  
(XVII.)
- De Laisrāno hortulano. (XVIII.)
- De ceto magno quomodo prophetavit. (XIX.) 20
- De quodam Baitano, qui cum caeteris ad maritimum remi-  
gavit desertum. (XX.)
- De quodam Nemano ficto poenitente, qui postea secundum  
verbum sancti carnem equae furtivae comedit. (XXI.)
- De illo infelici viro qui cum sua genitrice peccavit. (XXII.) 25
- De I vocali littera quae una in Psalterio defuit. (XXIII.)
- De libro in hydriam cadente. (XXIV.)
- De corniculo atramenti inclinato. (XXV.)
- De adventu alicuius Aidani qui ieiunium solvit. (XXVI.)
- De aliquo misero viro, qui ad fretum clamitabat, mox mori- 30  
turo. (XXVII.)
- De civitate Romanae partis, super quam ignis de caelo  
cecidit. (XXVIII.)
- De Laisrano filio Feradaig, quomodo monachos probavit in  
labore. (XXIX.) 35
- De Fechno Binc. (XXX.)
- De Cailtano monacho. (XXXI.)

De duobus peregrinis. (xxxii.)

De Artbranano sene, quem in Scia insula baptizavit.  
(xxxiii.)

De naviculae transmotatione iuxta stagnum Loch-diae.  
(xxxiv.)

5 De Gallano filio Fachtni quem daemones rapuere. (xxxv.)

De Lugidio Claudio. (xxxviii.)

De Enano filio Gruth. (xxxix.)

De presbitero qui erat in Triota. (xl.)

10 De Erco furunculo. (xli.)

De Cronano poeta. (xlii.)

De Ronano filio Aido filii Colcen, et Colmano Cane filio  
Aileni, prophetia Sancti. (xliii.)

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INCIPIT PRIMI LIBRI TEXTUS,  
DE PROPHETICIS REVELATIONIBUS

*Cap. I. DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS BREVIS NARRATIO.*

*Summary of St. Columba's miracles.* Vir itaque venerandus qualia virtutum documenta dederit, in huius libelli 5 primordiis, secundum nostram praemissam superius promissiunculam, breviter sunt demonstranda. Diversorum namque infestationes morborum homines, in nomine Domini Iesu Christi, virtute orationum, perpressos sanavit: daemnumque infestas, ipse unus homo, et innumeras contra 10 se belligerantes catervas, oculis corporalibus visas, et incipientes mortiferos super eius coenobialem coetum inferre morbos, hac nostra de insula retrotrusas primaria, Deo auxiliante, repulit. Bestiarum furiosam rabiem, partim mortificatione, partim forti repulsione, Christo adiuvante 15 compescuit. Tumores quoque fluctuum, instar montium aliquando in magna tempestate consurgentium, ipso ocus orante, sedati humiliatique sunt; navisque ipsius, in qua et ipse casu navigabat, tunc temporis, facta tranquillitate, portum appulsa est optatum. In regione Pictorum ali- 20 quantis diebus manens, inde reversus, ut magos confunderet, contra flatus contrarios venti erexit velum, et ita veloci cursu eius navicula enatans festinabat, ac si secundum habuisset ventum. Aliis quoque temporibus, venti navigantibus contrarii in secundos, ipso orante, conversi 25 sunt. In eadem supra memorata regione lapidem de flumine candidum detulit, quem ad aliquas profuturum benedixit sanitates: qui lapis, contra naturam, in aqua intinctus, quasi pomum supernatavit. Hoc divinum miraculum coram Brudeo rege, et familiaribus eius, factum 30 est. In eadem itidem provincia, cuiusdam plebei credentis mortuum puerum suscitavit, quod est maioris miraculi, vivumque et incolumem patri et matri assignavit. Alio in tempore idem vir beatus iuvenis diaconus, in Hibernia apud Findbarrum sanctum episcopum commanens, cum ad 35 sacrosancta mysteria necessarium defuisset vinum, virtute



orationis, aquam puram in verum vertit vinum. Sed et caelestis ingens claritudinis lumen, et in noctis tenebris, et in luce diei, super eum, aliquando quibusdam ex fratribus, diversis et separatis vicibus, apparuit effusum. Sanctorum  
 5 quoque angelorum dulces et suavissimas frequentationes luminosas habere meruit. Quorundam iustorum animas crebro ab angelis ad summa caelorum vehi, Sancto revelante Spiritu, videbat. Sed et reproborum alias ad inferna a daemonibus ferri saepenumero aspiciebat. Plurimorum  
 10 in carne mortali adhuc conversantium futura plerumque praeuntiabat merita, aliorum laeta, aliorum tristia. In bellorumque terrificis fragoribus hoc a Deo virtute orationum impetravit, ut alii reges victi, et alii regnatores efficerentur victores. Hoc tale privilegium non tantum in  
 15 hac praesenti vita conversanti, sed etiam post eius de carne transitum, quasi cuidam victoriali et fortissimo propugnatori, a Deo omnium sanctorum condonatum est honorificatore. Huius talis honorificentiae viro honorabili ab Omnipotente caelitus collatae etiam unum proferemus ex-  
 20 emplum, quod Ossualdo regnatori Saxonico, pridie quam contra Catlonem Britonum regem fortissimum praeliaretur, ostensum erat. Nam cum idem Ossualdus rex esset in **procinctu belli castra metatus**, quadam die **in suo papilione supra pulvillum dormiens**, sanctum Columbam in  
 25 visu videt forma coruscantem angelica; cuius alta proceritas vertice nubes tangere videbatur. Qui scilicet vir beatus, suum regi proprium revelans nomen, in medio castrorum stans, eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate, sui protegebat fulgida veste; et haec confirmatoria contulit  
 30 verba, eadem scilicet quae Dominus ad Iesue Ben Nun ante transitum Iordanis, mortuo Moyse, prolocutus est, dicens: **Confortare et age viriliter; ecce ero tecum** etc. Sanctus itaque Columba, haec ad regem in visu loquens, addit: 'Hac sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede;  
 35 hac enim vice mihi Dominus donavit ut hostes in fugam vertantur tui, et tuus Catlon inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris, et feliciter regnes.' Post haec verba expectatus rex senatui congregato hanc enarrat visionem; qua confortati omnes, totus populus  
 40 promittit se post reversionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum: nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia gentilitatis et ignorantiae tenebris obscurata

22. Cummian, XXV.

erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum duodecim viris, qui cum eo Scotos inter exulante baptizati sunt. Quid plura? eadem subsecuta nocte Ossualdus rex, sicuti in visu edoctus fuerat, de castris ad bellum, cum admodum pauciore exercitu, contra millia numerosa progreditur: cui a 5 Domino, sicut ei promissum est, felix et facilis est concessa victoria, et, rege trucidato Catlone, victor **post** bellum **reversus, postea totius Britanniae imperator a Deo ordinatus** est. Hanc mihi Adamnano narrationem meus decessor, noster abbas Failbéus, indubitanter enarravit, 10 qui se ab ore ipsius Ossualdi regis, Segineo abbati eandem enuntiantis visionem, audisse protestatus est.

*The virtues of Irish poems in praise of St. Columba.* Sed et hoc etiam non praetereundum videtur, quod eiusdem beati viri per quaedam Scoticae linguae laudum ipsius 15 carmina, et nominis commemorationem, quidam, quamlibet scelerati laicae conversationis homines et sanguinarii, ea nocte qua eadem decantaverant cantica, de manibus inimicorum qui eandem eorundem cantorum domum circumsteterant sint liberati; qui flammam inter et gladios et 20 lanceas incolumes evasere, mirumque in modum pauci ex ipsis, qui easdem sancti viri commemorationes, quasi parvi pendentes, canere noluerant decantationes, in illo aemulorum impetu soli disperierant. Huius miraculi testes non duo aut tres, iuxta legem, sed etiam centeni, et eo amplius, 25 adhiberi potuere. Non tantum in uno, aut loco, aut tempore, hoc idem contigisse comprobatur, sed etiam diversis locis et temporibus in Scotia et in Britannia, simili tamen et modo et causa liberationis, factum fuisse, sine ulla ambiguitate exploratum est. Haec ab expertis unius- 30 cuiusque regionis, ubicumque res eadem simili contigit miraculo, indubitanter didicimus.

*His gifts of prophecy, and of distant vision.* Sed, ut ad propositum redeamus, inter ea miracula quae idem vir Domini, in carne mortali conversans, Deo donante, per- 35 fecerat, ab annis iuvenilibus coepit etiam prophetiae spiritu pollere, ventura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare; quia quamvis absens corpore, praesens tamen spiritu, longe acta pervidere poterat. Nam, iuxta Pauli vocem, **Qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est.** Unde et idem 40 vir Domini sanctus Columba, sicut et ipse quibusdam paucis fratribus, de re eadem aliquando percunctantibus,

non negavit, in aliquantis dialis gratiae speculationibus **totum etiam mundum, veluti uno solis radio collectum, sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato, manifestatum perspiciens speculabatur.**

5 Haec de sancti viri hic ideo enarrata sunt virtutibus, ut avidior lector breviter perscripta, quasi dulciores quasdam praegustet dapes: quae tamen plenius in tribus inferius libris, Domino auxiliante, enarrabuntur. Nunc mihi non indecenter videtur, beati viri, licet praepostero ordine,  
10 prophetationes effari, quas de sanctis quibusdam et illustribus viris, diversis prolocutus est temporibus.

*Cap. II. DE SANCTO FINTENO, ABBATE, FILIO TAILCHANI.*

*St. Fintan goes to Iona.* Sanctus Fintenus, qui postea per universas Scotorum ecclesias valde noscibilis habitus  
15 est, a puerili aetate integritatem carnis et animae, Deo adiuvante, custodiens, studiis dialis sophias deditus, hoc propositum, in annis iuventutis conversatus, in corde habuit, ut nostrum sanctum Columbam, Hiberniam deserens, peregrinaturus, adiret. Eodem aestuans desiderio, ad quendam  
20 vadit seniore sibi amicum, in sua gente prudentissimum venerandumque clericum, qui Scotice vocitabatur Columb Crag, ut ab eo, quasi prudente, aliquod audiret consilium. Cui cum suos tales denudaret cogitatus, hoc ab eo responsum accepit: 'Tuum, ut aestimo, a Deo inspiratum  
25 devotumque desiderium quis prohibere potest, ne ad sanctum Columbam transnavigare debeas?' Eadem hora casu duo adveniunt monachi sancti Columbae, qui de sua interrogati ambulatione, 'Nuper,' aiunt, 'de Britannia remigantes, hodie a Roboreto Calgachi venimus.' 'Sospes  
30 anne est,' ait Columb Crag, 'vester Columba sanctus pater?' Qui valde illacrymati, cum magno dixerunt maerore, 'Vere salvus est noster ille patronus, qui his diebus nuper ad Christum commigravit.' Quibus auditis, Fintenus et Columb et omnes qui ibidem inerant, prostratis in terram  
35 vultibus, amare flevare. Fintenus consequenter percunctatur dicens: 'Quem post se successorem reliquit?' 'Baitheneum,' aiunt, 'suum alumnum.' Omnibusque clamentibus, 'Dignum et debitum,' Columb ad Fintenum inquit: 'Quid ad haec, Fintene, facies?' Qui respondens  
40 ait: 'Si Dominus permiserit, ad Baitheneum virum sanctum et sapientem enavigabo et, si me susceperit, ipsum abbatem

2. *Cummian, XXV.*

habebo.' Tum deinde supra memoratum Columb osculatus, et ei valedicens, navigationem praeparat, et sine morula ulla transnavigans, Iouam devenit insulam. Et necdum, in id temporis usque, nomen eius in his locis erat notum. Unde et imprimis, quasi quidam ignotus hospes 5 hospitaliter susceptus, alia die nuncium ad Baitheneum mittit, eius allocutionem facie ad faciem habere volens. Qui, ut erat affabilis, et peregrinis appetibilis, iubet ad se adduci. Qui statim adductus, primo, ut conveniebat, flexis genibus in terra se prostravit; iussusque a sancto seniore, 10 surgit, et residens interrogatur a Baitheneo, adhuc inscio, de gente et provincia, nomineque et conversatione, et pro qua causa inierit navigationis laborem. Qui, ita interrogatus, omnia per ordinem enarrans, ut susciperetur humiliter expostulat. Cui sanctus senior, his ab hospite auditis, 15 simulque hunc esse virum cognoscens de quo pridem aliquando sanctus Columba propheticè vaticinatus est, 'Gratias,' ait, 'Deo meo agere debeo quidem in tuo adventu, fili; sed hoc indubitanter scito quod noster monachus non eris.' Hoc audiens hospes, valde con- 20 tristatus, inquit: 'Forsitan ego indignus tuus non mereor fieri monachus.' Senior consequenter inquit: 'Non quod, ut dicis, indignus esses hoc dixi; sed quamvis maluissem te apud me retinere, mandatum tamen sancti Columbae mei decessoris profanare non possum; per quem Spiritus 25 Sanctus de te prophetavit. Alia namque die mihi soli seorsim, sic prophetico profatus ore, inter cetera, dixit:— Haec mea, O Baithenee, intentius debes audire verba; statim namque post meum de hoc ad Christum saeculo expectatum et valde desideratum transitum, quidam de 30 Scotia frater, qui nunc, bene iuvenilem bonis moribus regens aetatem, sacrae lectionis studiis satis imbuitor, nomine Fintenus, gente Mocumoie, cuius pater Tailchanus vocitatur, ad te, inquam, perveniens, humiliter expostulabit ut ipsum suscipiens inter ceteros adnumerès 35 monachos. Sed hoc ei in Dei praescientia praedestinatum non est ut ipse alicuius abbatis monachus fieret; sed ut monachorum abbas, et animarum dux ad caeleste regnum, olim electus a Deo est. Noles itaque hunc memoratum virum in his nostris apud te retinere insulis, ne et Dei 40 voluntati contraire videaris: sed, haec ei intimans verba, ad Scotiam in pace remittas, ut in Laginensium vicinis mari finibus monasterium construat, et ibidem Christi

ovinum pascens gregem, innumeras ad patriam animas caelestem perducatur.' Haec audiens sanctus iunior, Christo lacrymas fundens, agit gratias, inquires: 'Secundum sancti Columbae prophetiam fiat mihi et mirabilem praescientiam.' Iisdemque diebus verbis sanctorum obtemperans, et a Baitheneo accipiens benedictionem, in pace ad Scotiam transnavigat.

Haec mihi quodam narrante religioso sene presbytero, Christi milite, Oisseneo nomine, Ernani filio, gente Mocu  
 10 Neth Corb, indubitanter didici: qui se eadem supra memorata verba eiusdem ab ore sancti Finteni, filii Tailchani, audisse testatus est, ipsius monachus.

*Cap. III. DE ERNENEO, FILIO CRASENI, SANCTI COLUMBAE PROPHETIA.*

15 *St. Columba's reception at Clonmacnoise.* Alio in tempore vir beatus, in mediterranea Hiberniae parte monasterium, quod Scoticè dicitur Dair-mag, divino fundans nutu, per aliquot demoratus menses, libuit animo visitare fratres qui in Clonoensi sancti Cerani cœnobio commanebant.  
 20 Auditoque eius accessu, universi undique ab agellulis monasterio vicinis cum his qui ibidem inventi sunt congregati, cum omni alacritate suum consequentes abbatem Alitherum, sancto Columbae, quasi angelo Domini, obviam, egressi vallum monasterii, unanimes pergunt; humiliatisque in terram vultibus eo viso, cum omni reverentia exosculatus ab eis est: hymnisque et laudibus resonantes, honorifice ad ecclesiam perducunt; quandamque de lignis pyramidem erga sanctum deambulantem constringentes, a quatuor viris aequè ambulanti-  
 25 bus supportari fecerunt: ne videlicet sanctus senior Columba eiusdem fratrum multitudinis constipatione molestaretur. Eadem hora quidam valde despectus vultu et habitu, puer familiaris, et necdum senioribus placens, retro, in quantum valuit se occultans, accessit, ut videlicet vel illius amphibali  
 30 fimbriam, quo vir beatus induebatur, occulte, et si fieri possit ipso nesciente et non sentiente, tangeret. Sed hoc tamen Sanctum non latuit, nam quod corporalibus oculis retro se actum intueri non potuit, spiritalibus perspexit. Unde subito restitit, et post se extendens manum.  
 35 cervicem pueri tenet, ipsumque trahens ante faciem suam

30. Cummian, XXVII.  
 Armacan. fol. 209 a b.

34. anfibali A. F.: sic anfibalo Lib.

statuit, omnibusque qui ibidem circumstabant dicentibus, 'Dimitte, dimitte, quare hunc infelicem et iniuriosum retines puerum?' **Sanctus** e contra haec puro pectore verba depromit prophetica, 'Sinite, fratres, sinite modo.' Ad puerum vero valde tremefactum dicit, 'O fili, **aperi os,** <sup>5</sup> **et porrige linguam.**' Iussus tum puer, cum ingenti tremore aperiens os, linguam porrexit; quam **Sanctus**, sanctam extendens manum, diligenter benedicens, ita propheticè profatur, dicens, '**Hic puer** quamvis **vobis nunc despicabilis** et valde vilis videatur, nemo tamen ipsum ob <sup>10</sup> id despiciat. **Ab hac enim hora** non solum vobis non displicebit, sed valde placebit; **bonisque moribus**, et animae virtutibus paulatim de die in diem crescet: **sapientia** quoque et prudentia magis ac magis in eo ab hac die adaugebitur, et in hac vestra congregatione grandis est <sup>15</sup> futurus profectus; lingua quoque eius salubri et doctrina et **eloquentia** a Deo donabitur.' Hic erat Erneneus, filius Craseni, postea per omnes Scotiae ecclesias famosus et valde notissimus; qui haec omnia suprascripta verba Segineo abbati de se prophetata enarraverat, meo decese <sup>20</sup> sore Failbeo intentius audiente, qui et ipse cum Segineo praesens inerat; cuius revelatione et ego ipse cognovi haec eadem quae enarravi. Sed et multa alia iisdem diebus quibus in Clonoensi coenobio Sanctus hospitabatur, revelante prophetavit Sancto Spiritu; hoc est, de illa, quae <sup>25</sup> post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiae ecclesias, discordia: et de quibusdam angelicis frequentationibus sibi manifestatis, quibus quaedam intra eiusdem coenobii septa ab angelis tunc temporis frequentabantur loca. 30

*Cap. IV. DE ADVENTU SANCTI CAINNECHI, ABBATIS, DE QUO SANCTUS COLUMBA PROPHETALITER PRAENUNTIAVIT.*

*A calm in a tempest for the voyage of St. Cainnech.* Alio in tempore, cum in Ioua insula, die fragosae tempestatis et intolerabilis undarum magnitudinis, sedens in domo Sanctus <sup>35</sup> et fratribus praeciens diceret, 'Praeparate ocus hospitium, aquamque ad lavandos hospitum pedes exhaurite;' quidam ex ipsis frater consequenter, 'Quis,' ait, 'hac die valde ventosa et nimis periculosa, licet breve, fretum prospere transnavigare potest?' Quo audito Sanctus sic <sup>40</sup> profatur: 'Cuidam sancto et electo homini, qui ad nos ante vesperam perveniet, Omnipotens tranquillitatem,

quamlibet in tempestate, donavit.' Et ecce, eadem die aliquamdiu a fratribus expectata navis in qua sanctus inerat Cainnechus iuxta Sancti prophetationem pervenit. Cui Sanctus cum fratribus obviam venit, et ab eo honorifice  
 5 et hospitaliter susceptus est. Illi vero nautae qui cum Cainnecho inerant, interrogati a fratribus de qualitate navigationis, sic retulerunt sicuti sanctus Columba prius de tempestate et tranquillitate pariter; Deo donante, in eodem mari, et iisdem horis, mirabili divisione praedixerat;  
 10 et tempestatem eminus visam non sensisse professi sunt.

*Cap. V. DE PERICULO SANCTI COLMANI EPISCOPI, MOCUSAILNI, IN MARI IUXTA INSULAM QUAE VOCITATUR RECHRU.*

*St. Columba sees a storm at a distance.* Alia itidem die sanctus Columba, in sua commanens matrice ecclesia, repente in hanc subridens erupit vocem, dicens: 'Columbanus, filius Beognai, ad nos transnavigare incipiens, nunc in undosis Charybdis Brecani aestibus valde periclitatur; ambasque ad caelum, in prora sedens, palmas elevat; turbatum quoque et tam formidabile pelagus benedicit: quem  
 15 tamen Dominus sic terret, non ut navis naufragio, in qua ipse residet, undis obruatur; sed potius ad orandum intentius suscitetur, ut ad nos, Deo propitio, post transvadatum perveniat periculum.'

*Cap. VI. DE CORMACO.*

*He sees Cormac failing to find a desert island.* Alio quoque in tempore de Cormaco, nepote Lethani, viro utique sancto, qui tribus non minus vicibus eremum in oceano laboriose quaesivit, nec tamen invenit, sanctus Columba ita prophetizans ait: 'Hodie iterum Cormacus, desertum reperire cupiens, enavigare incipit ab illa regione  
 25 quae, ultra Modam fluvium sita, Eirros Domno dicitur; nec tamen etiam hac vice quod quaerit inveniet; et non ob aliam eius culpam nisi quod alicuius religiosi abbatis monachum, ipso non permittente, discessorem secum non  
 30 recte comitari, navigio suscepit.'

*Cap. VII. DE BELLORUM FRAGORIBUS LONGE COMMISSORUM BEATI PROPHETIA VIRI.*

*He sees the battle of Ondemone.* Post bellum Cule Drebene, sicut nobis traditum est, duobus transactis annis,

quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit, quadam die, hoc est, eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum quod Scotice dicitur Ondemone, idem homo Dei coram Conallo rege, filio Comgill, in Britannia conversatus, per omnia enarravit, tam de bello 5 commissio, quam etiam de illis regibus quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit: quorum propria vocabula Ainmorius filius Setni, et duo filii Maic Erce, Domnallus et Forcus. Sed et de rege Cruithniorum, qui Echodius Laib vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, currui insidens 10 evaserit, similiter Sanctus prophetizavit.

*Cap. VIII. DE BELLO MIATHORUM.*

*And that of the Miathi.* Alio in tempore, hoc est post multos a supra memorato bello annorum transcursus, cum esset vir sanctus in Ioua insula, subito ad suum dicit 15 ministratorem Diormitium, 'Cloccam pulsa.' Cuius sonitu fratres incitati ad ecclesiam, ipso sancto praesule praeeunte, ocus currunt. Ad quos ibidem flexis genibus infit: 'Nunc intente pro hoc populo et Aidano rege Dominum oremus; hac enim hora ineunt bellum.' Et post modicum 20 intervallum egressus oratorium, respiciens in caelum inquit, 'Nunc barbari in fugam vertuntur; Aidanoque, quamlibet infelix, tamen concessa victoria est.' Sed et de numero de exercitu Aidani interfectorum, trecentorum et trium virorum, vir beatus prophetice enarravit. 25

*Cap. IX. DE FILIIS AIDANI REGIS SANCTI COLUMBAE PROPHETIA.*

*Prophecy of the succession.* Alio in tempore ante supra dictum bellum Sanctus Aidanum regem interrogat de regni successore. Illo se respondente nescire quis esset de 30 tribus filiis suis regnaturus, Arturius, an Echodius Find, an Domingartus, Sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo: 'Nullus ex his tribus erit regnator; nam in bellis cadent ab inimicis trucidandi: sed nunc si alios iuniores habes ad me veniant, et quem ex eis elegerit Dominus regem, subito 35 super meum irruet gremium.' Quibus accitis, secundum verbum Sancti Echodius Buide adveniens in sinu eius recubuit. Statimque Sanctus eum osculatus benedixit, et ad patrem ait: 'Hic est superstes, et rex post te regnaturus, et filii eius post eum regnabunt.' Sic omnia post, suis 40



temporibus, plene adimpleta sunt. Nam Arturius et Echodius Find, non longo post temporis intervallo, Miatorum superius memorato in bello, trucidati sunt. Domin-  
 5 gartus vero in Saxonia bellica in strage interfectus est: Echodius autem Buide post patrem in regnum successit.

Cap. X. DE DOMNALLO FILIO AIDO.

*A similar prophecy.* Domnallus filius Aido, adhuc puer, ad sanctum Columbam in Dorso Cete per nutritores adductus est: quem intuens percunctatur inquiring, 'Cuius  
 10 est filius hic quem adduxistis?' Illis respondentibus, 'Hic est Domnallus filius Aido, qui ad te ideo perductus est, ut tua redeat benedictione ditatus.' Quem cum Sanctus benedixisset, continuo ait, 'Hic post super omnes suos fratres superstes erit, et rex valde famosus; nec unquam  
 15 in manus inimicorum tradetur, sed morte placida, in senectute, et intra domum suam, coram amicorum familiarium turba, super suum morietur lectum.' Quae omnia secundum beati vaticinium viri de eo vere adimpleta sunt.

Cap. XI. DE SCANDLANO FILIO COLMANI.

*He comforts Scandlan in prison.* Eodem tempore Sanctus, et in eodem loco, ad Scandlanum filium Colmani, apud Aidum regem in vinculis retentum, visitare eum cupiens, pergit; ipsumque cum benedixisset, confortans ait: 'Fili, nolis contristari, sed potius laetare et confortare: Aidus  
 25 enim rex, apud quem vinculatus es, de hoc mundo te praecedet; et, post aliqua exilii tempora, triginta annis in gente tua rex regnaturus es. Iterumque de regno effugaberis, et per aliquot exulabis dies; post quos, a populo reinvitatus, per tria regnabis brevia tempora.' Quae cuncta iuxta  
 30 vaticinationem Sancti plene expleta sunt. Nam post triginta annos de regno expulsus, per aliquod exulavit spatium temporis: sed post a populo reinvitatus, non, ut putabat, tribus annis, sed ternis regnavit mensibus; post quos continuo obiit.

35 Cap. XII. DE DUOBUS ALIIS REGNATORIBUS, QUI DUO NEPOTES MUIREDACHI VOCITABANTUR, BAITANUS FILIUS MAIC ERCE ET ECHODIUS FILIUS DOMNAIL, BEATI PROPHE-  
 TATIO VIRI.

*He sees the death of two kings.* Alio in tempore, per  
 40 asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens, quae dicitur

Artdamuirchol, et suos audiens comites, Laisranum utique filium Feradachi, et Diormitium ministratorem, de duobus supra memoratis regibus in via sermocinari, haec ad eos verba depromit: 'O filioli, quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini? nam illi ambo reges, de quibus nunc sermo- 5 cinamini, nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperierunt. In hac quoque die aliqui de Scotia adventantes nautae haec eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus.' Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Hibernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur Muirbolc Paradisi pervenientes, supra 10 scriptis eius binis comitibus, et in eadem navi cum Sancto navigantibus, de iisdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

*Cap. XIII. DE OINGUSIO FILIO AIDO COMMANI SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.*

15

*Foretells a future reign.* Hic namque de patria cum aliis duobus fratribus effugatus, ad Sanctum in Britannia peregrinantem exul venit; cuique benedicens, haec de eo prophetizans sancto promittit de pectore verba: 'Hic iuvenis, defunctis eius ceteris fratribus superstes remanens, multo 20 est regnaturus in patria tempore; et inimici eius coram ipso cadent; nec tamen ipse unquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed morte placida, senex, inter amicos morietur.' Quae omnia iuxta Sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est Oingusius cuius cognomentum Bron- 25 bachal.

*Cap. XIV. PROPHETIA BEATI VIRI DE FILIO DERMITI REGIS QUI AIDUS SLANE LINGUA NOMINATUS EST SCOTICA.*

*Utters a prophetic warning.* Alio in tempore, cum vir beatus in Scotia per aliquot demoraretur dies, ad supra- 30 dictum Aidum, ad se venientem, sic propheticè locutus ait, 'Praecavere debes, fili, ne tibi a Deo totius Hiberniae regni praerogativam monarchiae praedestinata, patriciali faciente peccato, amittas: nam, si quandoque illud commiseris, non toto patris regno, sed eius aliqua parte in 35 gente tua, brevi frueris tempore.' Quae verba Sancti sic sunt expleta secundum eius vaticinationem. Nam post Suibneum filium Columbani dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus, ut fertur, quam quatuor annis et tribus mensibus regni concessa potitus est parte.

40

*Cap. XV. DE REGE RODERCO FILIO TOTHAIL, QUI IN PETRA CLOITHE REGNAVIT, BEATI VIRI PROPHETIA.*

*Foretells that a king will die in his bed.* Alio idem in tempore hic, ut erat sancti viri amicus, aliquam ad eum  
 5 occultam per Lugbeum Mocumin legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset trucidandus, an non. At vero Lugbeus, a Sancto interrogatus de eodem rege, et regno, et populo, et respondens, quasi misertus, dicit, 'Quid de illo  
 10 inquiris misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur, nullo modo scire potest?' Sanctus dum deinde profatur, 'Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum, sed in sua, super plumatiunculam, morietur domo.' Quod Sancti de rege Roderco vaticinium plene adimpletum est: nam iuxta verbum eius in domo sua morte placida obiit.

15 *Cap. XVI. DE DUOBUS PUERIS, QUORUM UNUS, IUXTA VERBUM SANCTI, IN FINE HEBDOMADIS OBIIT, PROPHETIA SANCTI.*

*A prophecy regarding two boys.* Alio in tempore duo quidam plebei ad Sanctum in Ioua commorantem insula  
 20 deveniunt; quorum unus, Meldanus nomine, de filio suo qui praesens erat Sanctum interrogat, quid ei esset futurum. Cui Sanctus sic profatur: 'Nonne sabbati dies hodierna est? filius tuus sexta feria, in fine morietur septimanae, octavaque die, hoc est, sabbato, hic sepelietur.' Alter  
 25 proinde plebeus, nomine Glasdercus, et ipse de filio quem ibidem secum habuit nihilominus interrogans, talem Sancti audit responsionem: 'Filius tuus Ernanus suos videbit nepotes et in hac insula senex sepelietur.' Quae omnia, secundum verbum Sancti, de pueris ambobus, suis plene  
 30 temporibus sunt expleta.

*Cap. XVII. DE COLCIO, AIDO DRAIGNICHE FILIO, A NEPOTIBUS FECHUREG ORTO; ET DE QUODAM OCCULTO MATRIS EIUS PECCATO, PROPHETIA SANCTI.*

*Concerning the mother of Colca, and Colca himself.* Alio  
 35 in tempore, supramemoratum Colgium, apud se in Ioua commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua interrogat genitrice, si esset religiosa, an non. Cui ipse inquires ait, 'Bene moratam, et bonae famae, meam novi matrem.' Sanctus tum sic propheticè profatur, 'Mox, Deo volente, ad  
 40 Scotiam profectus, matrem diligentius de quodam suo pergrandi peccato interroga occulto, quod nulli hominum

confiteri vult.' Qui, haec audiens, obsecutus, ad Hiberniam emigravit. Proinde mater, ab eo studiose interrogata, quamlibet primule infitens, tamen suum confessa est peccatum, et iuxta Sancti iudicationem, poenitudinem agens, sanata, de se quod Sancto manifestatum est valde 5 mirata est.

Colgius vero, ad Sanctum reversus, per aliquot dies apud eum commoratus, de fine sui interrogans temporis, hoc a Sancto audit responsum: 'In tua, quam amas, patria primarius alicuius ecclesiae per multos eris annos; et si 10 forte aliquando tuum videris pincernam in coena amicorum ludentem, hauritoriumque in gyro per collum torquentem, scito te mox in brevi morituum.' Quid plura? Haec eadem beati viri prophetatio sic per omnia est adimpleta, quemadmodum de Colgio eodem est prophetata. 15

*Cap. XVIII. DE LAISRANO HORTULANO, HOMINE SANCTO.*

*Foretells certain events.* Vir beatus quemdam de suis monachum nomine Trenanum, gente Mocuruntir, legatum ad Scotiam exire quadam praecipit die. Qui, hominis Dei obsecutus iussioni, navigationem parat festinus; unumque 20 sibi deesse navigatorem coram Sancto queritur. Sanctus haec consequenter, eidem respondens, sacro promit de pectore verba, dicens, 'Nautam, quem tibi non adhuc suppetisse dicis, nunc invenire non possum. Vade in pace: usquequo ad Hiberniam pervenias prosperos et 25 secundos habebis flatus. Quemdamque obvium videbis hominem eminus occursurum, qui primus prae ceteris navis proram tuae tenebit in Scotia, hic erit comes tui itineris per aliquot in Hibernia dies; teque inde revertentem ad nos usque comitabitur, vir a Deo electus, qui in 30 hoc meo monasterio per omne reliquum tempus bene conversabitur.' Quid plura? Trenanus, accipiens a Sancto benedictionem, plenis velis per omnia transmeavit maria: et, ecce, appropinquant ad portum naviculae Laisranus Mocumoie, citior ceteris, occurrit, tenetque proram. Nautae 35 recognoscunt ipsum esse de quo Sanctus praedixerat.

*Cap. XIX. DE CETO MAGNO QUOMODO SANCTUS PRAESCIENS DIXERAT.*

*Of a great whale.* Quadam die, cum vir venerabilis in Ioua demoraretur insula, quidam frater, Berachus nomine, 40 ad Ethicam proponens insulam navigare, ad Sanctum

mane accedens, ab eo benedici postulat. Quem Sanctus intuitus, inquit, 'O fili, hodie intentius praecaveto ne Ethicam cursu ad terram directo per latius coneris transmeare pelagus, sed potius, circumiens, minores secus  
 5 naviges insulas; ne videlicet, aliquo monstruoso perterritus prodigio, vix inde possis evadere.' Qui, a Sancto accepta benedictione, secessit, et navem conscendens, Sancti verbum quasi parvipendens, transgreditur; maiora proinde Ethici transmeans spatia pelagi, ipse et qui ibi  
 10 inerant nautae vident, et ecce cetus mirae et immensae magnitudinis, se instar montis erigens, ora aperuit patula nimis dentosa, supernatans. Tum proinde remiges, deposito velo, valde perterriti, retro reversi, illam obortam ex belluino motu fluctuationem vix evadere potuerunt,  
 15 Sanctique verbum recognoscentes propheticum, admirabantur. Eadem quoque die Sanctus Baitheneo, ad supra memoratam insulam navigaturo, mane de eodem intimavit ceto, inquires, 'Hac praeterita nocte media, cetus magnus de profundo maris se sublevavit, et inter Iouam et Ethicam  
 20 insulam se hodie in superficiem eriget aequoris.' Cui Baitheneus respondens inquit, 'Ego et illa bellua sub Dei potestate sumus.' Sanctus, 'Vade,' ait, 'in pace, fides tua in Christo te ab hoc defendet periculo.' Baitheneus tum deinde, a Sancto benedictione accepta, a portu enavigat:  
 25 transcursisque non parvis ponti spatiis, ipse et socii cetum aspiciunt; perterritisque omnibus, ipse solus aequor et cetum, ambabus manibus elevatis, benedicit intrepidus. Eodemque momento bellua magna, se sub fluctus immergens, nusquam deinceps eis apparuit.

30 *Cap. XX. DE QUODAM BAITANO, QUI CUM CETERIS DESERTUM MARINUM APPETENS ENAVIGAUERAT, SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.*

*Baitan's wanderings in search of a desert island.* Alio in tempore quidam Baitanus, gente Nepos Niath Taloir, benedici a Sancto petivit, cum ceteris in mari eremum  
 35 quaesiturus. Cui valedicens Sanctus hoc de ipso propheticum protulit verbum, 'Hic homo, qui ad quaerendum in oceano desertum pergit, non in deserto conditus iacebit, sed illo in loco sepelietur ubi oves femina trans sepulcrum eius minabit.' Idem itaque Baitanus, post longos per  
 40 ventosa circuitus aequora, eremo non reperta, ad patriam reversus, multis ibidem annis cuiusdam cellulae dominus permansit, quae Scotice Lathreginden dicitur. Iisdemque

diebus accidit, quibus, post aliqua mortuus tempora, sepultus est in Roboreto Calgachi, ut propter hostilitatis incursum vicina ad eiusdem loci ecclesiam plebecula cum mulieribus et parvulis confugeret. Unde contigit ut quadam die mulier deprehenderetur aliqua, quae suas per eiusdem viri sepulcrum nuper sepulti oviculas minabat. Et unus ex his qui viderant sanctus sacerdos dixit, 'Nunc prophetia sancti Columbae expleta est, multis prius divulgata annis.' Qui utique supra memoratus presbyter mihi haec de Baitano enarrans retulit, Mailodranus nomine, Christi miles, gente Mocurin.

**Cap. XXI. DE NEMANO QUODAM FICTO POENITENTE SANCTI PROPHETATIO VIRI.**

*The fate of one Neman, a penitent.* Alio in tempore Sanctus ad Hinbinam insulam pervenit, eademque die ut etiam poenitentibus aliqua praecipit cibi consolatio indulgeretur. Erat autem ibi inter poenitentes quidam Nemanus, filius Cathir, qui, a Sancto iussus, renuit oblatam accipere consolatiunculam. Quem Sanctus his compellat verbis, 'O Neman, a me et Baitheneo indultam non recipis aliquam refectionis indulgentiam? Erit tempus quo cum furacibus furtive carnem in silva manducabis equae.' Hic idem itaque, postea ad saeculum reversus, in saltu cum furibus talem comedens carnem, iuxta verbum Sancti, de craticula sumptam lignea, inventus est.

**Cap. XXII. DE INFELICI QUODAM QUI CUM SUA DORMIVIT GENITRICE.**

*The fate of a wretched sinner.* Alio in tempore fratres intempesta nocte suscitatur Sanctus, ad quos in ecclesia congregatos dicit, 'Nunc Dominum intentius precemur; nam hac in hora aliquod inauditum in mundo peccatum perpetratum est, pro quo valde timenda iudicialis est vindicta.' De quo peccato crastino die, aliquibus paucis percunctantibus, intimavit inquires, 'Post paucos menses cum Lugaido nesciente infelix ille homuncio ad Iouam perveniet insulam.' Alia itaque die Sanctus ad Diormitium, interiectis quibusdam mensibus, praecipiens profatur, 'Surge citius, ecce Lugaidus appropinquat, dicque ei ut miserum quem secum in navi habet in Maleam propellat insulam, ne huius insulae cespitem calcet.' Qui, praecepto

Sancti obsecutus, ad mare pergit, Lugaidoque adventanti omnia Sancti prosequitur de infelici viro verba. Quibus auditis, ille infelix iuravit nunquam se cibum cum aliis accepturum nisi prius sanctum videret Columbam, eumque  
 5 alloqueretur. Quae infelicis verba Diormitius, ad Sanctum reversus, retulit. Quibus compertis, Sanctus ad portum perrexit, Baitheneoque, prolatis sacrae Scripturae testimoniis, suggerenti ut miseri poenitudo susciperetur, Sanctus consequenter inquit, 'O Baithenee, hic homo fratricidium  
 10 in modum perpetravit Cain, et cum sua matre moechatus est.' Tum deinde miser in litore flexis genibus leges poenitentiae expleturum se promisit, iuxta Sancti iudicationem. Cui Sanctus ait, 'Si duodecim annis inter Brittones cum fletu et lacrymis poenitentiam egeris, nec  
 15 ad Scotiam usque ad mortem reversus fueris, forsane Deus peccato ignoscat tuo.' Haec dicens Sanctus, ad suos conversus, dicit, 'Hic homo filius est perditionis, qui quam promisit poenitentiam non explebit, sed mox ad Scotiam revertetur, ibique in brevi ab inimicis interficiendus peribit.' Quae omnia secundum Sancti prophetiam ita contigerunt: nam miser iisdem diebus ad Hiberniam reversus, in regione quae vocitatur Lea, in manus incidens inimicorum trucidatus est. Hic de Nepotibus Turtrei erat.

25 *Cap. XXIII. DE I VOCALI LITERA.*

*The collating of a Psalter.* Quadam die Baitheneus, ad Sanctum accedens, ait, Necesse habeo ut aliquis de fratribus mecum Psalterium quod scripsi percurrens emendet. Quo audito, Sanctus sic profatur, 'Cur hanc super nos  
 30 infers sine causa molestiam? nam in tuo hoc, de quo dicis, Psalterio nec una superflua reperietur litera, nec alia deesse, excepta I vocali, quae sola deest.' Et sic, toto perlecto Psalterio, sicuti Sanctus praedixerat repertum exploratum est.

35 *Cap. XXIV. DE LIBRO IN AQUARIUM VAS SANCTUS SICUTI PRAEDIXERAT CADENTE.*

*Accidental immersion of a book.* Quadam itidem die, ad focum in monasterio sedens, videt Lugbeum, gente Mocumin, eminus librum legentem, cui repente ait, 'Prae-  
 40 cave, fili, praecave, aestimo enim quod quem lectitas liber in aquae plenum sit casurus vasculum.' Quod mox ita

contigit: nam ille supra memoratus iuvenis, post aliquod breve intervallum, ad aliquam consurgens in monasterio ministrationem, verbi oblitus beati viri, libellus, quem sub ascella negligentius inclusit, subito in hydriam aqua repletam cecidit.

5

*Cap. XXV. DE CORNICULO ATRAMENTI INANITER DEFUSO.*

*An inkhorn upset.* Alia inter haec die ultra fretum Iouae insulae clamatum est: quem Sanctus sedens in tuguriolo tabulis suffulto audiens clamorem dicit, 'Homo qui ultra clamat fretum non est subtilis sensus, nam hodie 10 mei corniculum atramenti inclinans effundet.' Quod verbum eius ministrator Diormitius audiens, paulisper ante ianuam stans, gravem expectabat superventurum hospitem, ut corniculum defenderet. Sed, alia mox faciente causa, inde recessit; et post eius recessum hospes molestus 15 supervenit, Sanctumque osculandum appetens, ora vestimenti inclinatum effudit atramenti corniculum.

*Cap. XXVI. DE ALICUIUS ADVENTU HOSPITIS QUEM SANCTUS PRAENUNTIAVIT.*

*A fast dispensed with for a guest.* Alio itidem tempore 20 Sanctus die tertiae feriae fratribus sic profatus est, 'Crastina quarta feria ieiunare proponimus, sed tamen, superveniente quodam molesto hospite, consuetudinarium solvetur ieiunium.' Quod ita ut Sancto praeostensum est accidit: nam mane eadem quarta feria, alius ultra fretum clamitabat 25 proselytus, Aidanus nomine, filius Fergnoi, qui, ut fertur, duodecim annis Brendeno ministravit Mocualti; vir valde religiosus, qui, ut advenit, eiusdem diei, iuxta verbum Sancti, ieiunationem solvit.

*Cap. XXVII. DE ALIQUO MISERABILI VIRO QUI ULTRA 30 SUPRADICTUM CLAMITABAT FRETUM.*

*A man comes for medical aid.* Quadam quoque die, quemdam ultra fretum audiens clamitantem, Sanctus hoc profatur modo: 'Valde miserandus est ille clamitans homo, qui, aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta petiturus per- 35 tinentia, ad nos venit: cui opportunius erat veram de peccatis hodie poenitudinem gerere; nam in huius fine hebdomadis morietur.' Quod verbum qui inerat praesentes advenienti misero intimavere. Sed ille parvipendens,



acceptis quae poposcerat, citius recessit; et, secundum Sancti propheticum verbum, ante finem eiusdem septimanae mortuus est.

**Cap. XXVIII. DE ROMANI IURIS CIVITATE IGNI SULFUREO  
5 CAELITUS PROLAPSO COMBUSTA SANCTI VIRI PROPHETIA.**

*Vision of fire from heaven in Italy.* Alio itidem in tempore, Lugbeus gente Mocumin, cuius supra mentionem fecimus, quadam ad Sanctum die post frugum veniens triturationem, nullo modo eius faciem intueri potuit, miro  
10 superfusam rubore; valdeque pertimescens cito aufugit. Quem Sanctus, complosis paulum manibus, revocat. Qui reversus, a Sancto statim interrogatus cur ocius aufugisset, hoc dedit responsum, 'Ideo fugi quia nimis pertimui.' Et post aliquod modicum intervallum, fiducialius agens, audet  
15 Sanctum interrogare, inquires, 'Numquid hac in hora tibi aliqua formidabilis ostensa visio est?' Cui Sanctus talem dedit responsionem: 'Tam terrifica ultio nunc in remota orbis parte peracta est.' 'Qualis,' ait iuvenis, 'vindicta, et in qua regione facta?' Sanctus tum sic profatur: 'Sul-  
20 furea de caelo flamma super Romani iuris civitatem, intra Italiae terminos sitam, hac hora effusa est; triaque ferme millia virorum, excepto matrum puerorumque numero disperierunt. Et antequam praesens finiatur annus, Gallici nautae, de Galliarum provinciis adventantes, haec eadem  
25 tibi enarrabunt.' Quae verba post aliquot menses veridica fuisse sunt comprobata. Nam idem Lugbeus, simul cum sancto viro ad Caput Regionis pergens, nauclerum et nautas adventantis barcae interrogans, sic omnia illa de civitate cum civibus ab eis audit enarrata, quemadmodum  
30 a praedicabili viro sunt praedicta.

**Cap. XXIX. DE LAISRANO FILIO FERADACHI BEATI VISIO VIRI.**

*Vision of overworked labourers in Durrow.* Quadam brumali et valde frigida die Sanctus, magno molestatus maerore,  
35 flevit. Quem suus ministrator Diormitius, de causa interrogans maestitiae, hoc ab eo responsum accepit, 'Non immerito, O filiule, ego hac in hora contristor, meos videns monachos, quos Laisranus nunc gravi fatigatos labore in alicuius maioris domus fabrica molestat; quae mihi valde  
40 displicet.' Mirum dictu! eodem momento horae Laisranus, habitans in monasterio Roboreti Campi, quodammodo

coactus, et quasi quadam pyra intrinsecus succensus, iubet monachos a labore cessare, aliquamque cibationum consolationem praeparari; et non solum in eadem die otiari, sed et in ceteris asperae tempestatis diebus requiescere. Quae verba ad fratres consolatoria, a Laisrano dicta, Sanctus in 5 spiritu audiens flere cessavit, et mirabiliter gavisus ipse in Ioua insula commanens, fratribus, qui ad praesens inerant, per omnia enarravit, et Laisranum monachorum benedixit consolatorem.

**Cap. XXX. DE FECHNO SAPIENTE, QUOMODO POENITENS AD 10 SANCTUM COLUMBAM, AB EODEM PRAENUNCIATUS, VENIT.**

*Vision of a penitent coming in a ship.* Alio in tempore Sanctus, in cacumine sedens montis qui nostro huic monasterio eminus supereminet, ad suum ministratorem Diormitium conversus, profatus est, dicens, 'Miror quare tardius 15 appropinquat quaedam de Scotia navis, quae quemdam advehit sapientem virum, qui in quodam facinore lapsus, lacrymosam gerens poenitudinem, mox adveniet.' Post proinde haud grande intervallum ad austrum prospiciens minister, velum navis videt ad portum propinquantis. 20 Quam cum Sancto adventantem demonstraret, cito surgit, inquires, 'Eamus proselyto obviam, cuius veram Christus suscipit poenitentiam.' At vero Feachnaus, de navi descendens, Sancto ad portum pervenienti obvius occurrit; cum fletu et lamento, ante pedes eius ingeniculans flexis 25 genibus, amarissime ingemuit, et, coram omnibus qui ibidem inerant, peccantias confitetur suas. Sanctus tum, cum eo pariter illacrymatus, ad eum ait, 'Surge fili, et consolare; dimissa sunt tua quae commisisti peccamina; quia, sicut scriptum est, **Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non 30 spernit.**' Qui surgens, gaudenter a Sancto susceptus, ad Baitheneum tunc temporis in Campo Lunge praepositum commorantem, post aliquot est emissus dies, in pace comigrans.

**Cap. XXXI. DE CAILTANO EIUS MONACHO SANCTI PRO- 35 PHETATIO VIRI.**

*Prophecy of the death of Cailtan.* Alio in tempore binos mittens monachos ad suum alium monachum, nomine Cailtanum, qui eodem tempore praepositus erat in cella quae hodieque ejus fratris Diuni vocabulo vocitatur, stagno 40 adhaerens Abae fluminis, haec per eosdem nuncios Sanctus

commendat verba : 'Cito euntes ad Cailtanum properate, dicitoteque ei ut ad me sine ulla veniat morula.' Qui, verbo Sancti obsecuti exeuntes, et ad cellam Diuni pervenientes, suae legatiunculae qualitatem Cailtano intimaverunt. Qui  
 5 eadem hora, nullo demoratus modo, Sancti prosecutus legatos, ad eum in Ioua insula commorantem, eorum itineris comes, celeriter pervenit. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum taliter locutus, his compellat verbis, 'O Cailtane, bene fecisti ad me obedienter festinando : requiesce paulisper. Idcirco ad  
 10 te invitandum misi, amans amicum, ut hic mecum in vera finias obedientia vitae cursum tuae. Nam ante huius hebdomadis finem ad Dominum in pace transibis.' Quibus auditis, gratias agens Deo, Sanctumque lacrymans exosculatus, ad hospitium, accepta ab eo benedictione, pergit :  
 15 eademque subsecuta infirmatus nocte, iuxta verbum Sancti in eadem septimana ad Christum Dominum migravit.

**Cap. XXXII. DE DUOBUS PEREGRINIS FRATRIBUS SANCTI PROVIDA PROPHETATIO VIRI.**

*Vision of the coming of two strangers, and prophecy of  
 20 their death.* Quadam Dominica die ultra saepe memoratum clamatum est fretum. Quem audiens Sanctus clamorem, ad fratres qui ibidem inerant, 'Ite,' ait, 'celeriter, peregrinosque de longinqua venientes regione ad nos ocus adducite.' Qui continuo obsecuti, transfretantes  
 25 adduxerunt hospites : quos Sanctus exosculatus, consequenter de causa percontatur itineris. Qui respondentes aiunt, 'Ut hoc etiam anno apud te peregrinemur, venimus.' Quibus Sanctus hanc dedit responsionem : 'Apud me, ut dicitis, anni unius spatio peregrinari non poteritis,  
 30 nisi prius monachicum promiseritis votum.' Quod qui inerant praesentes valde mirati sunt ad hospites eadem hora adventantes dici. Ad quae Sancti verba senior respondens frater ait, 'Hoc in mente propositum, licet in hanc horam usque nullatenus habuerimus, tamen tuum  
 35 sequemur consilium, divinitus, ut credimus, inspiratum.' Quid plura? Eodem horae momento oratorium cum Sancto ingressi, devote, flexis genibus, votum monachiale voverunt. Sanctus tum deinde, ad fratres conversus, ait, 'Hi duo proselyti vivam Deo seipsos exhibentes hostiam,  
 40 longaque in brevi Christianae tempora militiae complentes, hoc mox eodem mense ad Christum Dominum in pace transibunt.' Quibus auditis ambo fratres, gratias Deo

agentes, ad hospitium deducti sunt : interiectisque diebus septem, senior frater coepit infirmari, et, eadem peracta septimana, ad Dominum emigravit. Similiter et alter post septem alios dies infirmatus, eiusdem in fine hebdomadis, ad Dominum feliciter transit. Et sic secundum Sancti <sup>5</sup> veridicam prophetiam, intra eiusdem mensis terminum, ambo praesentem finiunt vitam.

**Cap. XXXIII. DE QUODAM ARTBRANANO SANCTI PROPHE-  
TIA VIRI.**

*Prophecy about an aged heathen.* Cum per aliquot dies in <sup>10</sup> insula demoraretur Scia vir beatus, alicuius loci terrulam mari vicinam baculo percutiens, ad comites sic ait, 'Mirum dictu, O filioli! hodie in hac huius loci terrula quidam gentilis senex, naturale per totam bonum custodiens vitam, et baptizabitur, et morietur, et sepelietur.' Et ecce, quasi <sup>15</sup> post unius intervallum horae, navicula ad eundem super-venit portum; cuius in prora quidam advectus est decrepitus senex, Geonae primarius cohortis, quem bini iuvenes, de navi sublevantes, ante beati conspectum viri deponunt. Qui statim, verbo Dei a Sancto per interpretem recepto, <sup>20</sup> credens, ab eodem baptizatus est, et post expleta baptizati-onis ministeria, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, eodem in loco consequenter obiit, ibidemque socii, congesto lapidum acervo sepeliunt. Qui hodieque in ora cernitur maritima; fluviusque eiusdem loci in quo idem baptisma acceperat, ex <sup>25</sup> nomine eius, Dobur Artbranani usque in hodiernum nomi-natus diem, ab accolis vocitatur.

**Cap. XXXIV. DE NAVICULA TRANSMOTATA SANCTO  
PRAECIPIENTE.**

*Foresight with regard to a boat.* Alio in tempore trans <sup>30</sup> Britanniae Dorsum iter agens, aliquo in desertis viculo agellis reperto, ibidemque iuxta alicuius marginem rivuli stagnum intrantis, Sanctus mansionem faciens, eadem nocte dormientes, semisopore degustato, suscitatur comites, dicens, 'Nunc, nunc, celerius foras exeuntes, nostram quam ultra <sup>35</sup> rivum naviculam posuistis in domum, huc citius advehite, et in viciniore domuncula ponite.' Qui continuo obedi-entibus, sicut eis praeceptum est, fecerunt; ipsisque iterum quies-centibus, Sanctus post quoddam intervallum silenter Dior-mitium pulsat, inquires, 'Nunc, stans extra domum, aspice <sup>40</sup> quid in illo agitur viculo ubi prius vestram posuistis navi-

culam.' Qui, Sancti praecepto obsecutus, domum egreditur, et respiciens videt vicum flamma instante totum concremari, reversusque ad Sanctum quod ibidem agebatur retulit. Sanctus proinde fratribus de quodam narravit aemulo prosecutore qui easdem domus eadem incenderat nocte.

*Cap. XXXV. DE GALLANO FILIO FACHNI QUI ERAT IN DIOECESI COLGION FILII CELLAIG.*

*Vision of a soul carried off by demons.* Quadam itidem die Sanctus, in suo sedens tuguriolo, Colcio eidem, lecti-  
 10 tanti iuxta se, prophetizans ait, 'Nunc unum tenacem primum de tuae praepositis dioeceseos daemones ad inferna rapiunt.' At vero hoc audiens Colcius tempus et horam in tabula describens, post aliquot menses ad patriam reversus, Gallanum filium Fachni eodem horae momento  
 15 obiisse, ab accolis eiusdem regionis percunctatus, invenit, quo vir beatus eidem a daemonibus raptum enarravit.

*Cap. XXXVI. BEATI PROPHETATIO VIRI DE FINDCHANO PRESBYTERO, ILLIUS MONASTERII FUNDATORE QUOD SCOTICE ARTCHAIN NUNCUPATUR, IN ETHICA TERRA.*

*Prophecy of two dreadful deaths.* Alio in tempore supra memoratus presbyter Findchanus, Christi miles, Aidum cognomento Nigrum, regio genere ortum, Cruthinicum gente, de Scotia ad Britanniam sub clericatus habitu secum adduxit, ut in suo apud se monasterio per aliquot peregrinaretur annos. Qui scilicet Aidus Niger valde sanguinarius homo et multorum fuerat trucidator; qui et Diormitium filium Cerbulis, totius Scotiae regnatorem, Deo auctore ordinatum, interfecerat. Hic itaque idem Aidus, post aliquantum in peregrinatione transactum tempus,  
 30 accito episcopo, quamvis non recte, apud supradictum Findchanum presbyter ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non est ausus super caput eius manum imponere, nisi prius idem Findchanus, Aidum carnaliter amans, suam capiti eius pro confirmatione imponeret dexteram. Quae talis ordinatio cum postea sancto intimaretur viro, aegre tulit: tum  
 35 proinde hanc de illo Findchano et de Aido ordinato formidabilem profatur sententiam, inquires, 'Illa manus dextra quam Findchanus, contra fas, et ius ecclesiasticum, super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet, et, post  
 40 magnos dolorum cruciatus, ipsum in terram sepelienda praecedet; et ipse post suam humatam manum per multos

superstes victurus est annos. Ordinatus vero indebite Aidus, sicuti canis, ad vomitum revertetur suum, et ipse rursum sanguilentus trucidator existet, et ad ultimum lancea iugulatus, de ligno in aquam cadens, submersus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum promeruit vitae, 5 qui totius regem trucidavit Scotiae.' Quae beati viri prophetia de utroque adimpleta est; nam presbyteri Findchani dexter per pugnum putrefactus in terram eum praecessit, in illa sepultus insula quae Ommon nuncupatur: ipse vero, iuxta verbum Sancti Columbae, per multos post vixit annos. 10 Aidus vero Niger, solummodo nomine presbyter, ad sua priora reversus scelera, dolo lancea transfixus, de prora ratis in aquam lapsus stagnem, disperiit.

Cap. XXXVII. DE QUODAM SANCTI SOLAMINE SPIRITUS MONACHIS IN VIA LABORIOSIS MISSE.

15

*Spiritual comfort felt by the harvest men.* Inter has praedicabiles prophetici spiritus prophetationes, non ab re videtur etiam de quadam spiritali consolatione nostris commemorare literulis, quam aliquando sancti Columbae monachi, spiritu eius ipsis in via obviante, sentiebant. Alio namque 20 in tempore, fratres, post messisionis opera, vespere ad monasterium redeuntes, et ad illum pervenientes locum qui Scotice nuncupatur Cuuleilne, qui utique locus inter occidentalem Iouae insulae campulum et nostrum monasterium medius esse dicitur, mirum quid et inconsuetum singuli 25 sibi sentire videbantur: quod tamen alius alii intimare nullo modo audebat. Et sic per aliquot dies eodem in loco, eademque vespertina sentiebant hora. Fuit autem iisdem in diebus sanctus Baitheneus inter eos operum dispensator, qui sic ad ipsos alia die est prolocutus, in- 30 quiens, 'Nunc, fratres, confiteri debetis singuli, si aliquid in hoc medio loco inter messem et monasterium, inconsuetum et inopinatum sentitis miraculum.' Unus tum ex eis, senior, 'Iuxta tuam,' ait, 'iussionem, quod mihi hoc in loco ostensum est dicam; nam et in his praetereuntibus 35 dieculis, et nunc etiam, quandam miri odoris fragrantiam ac si universorum florum in unum sentio collectorum; quandam quoque quasi ignis ardorem, non poenalem, sed quodammodo suavem: sed et quandam in corde insuetam et incomparabilem infusam laetificationem, quae me subito 40 mirabiliter consolatur, et in tantum laetificat ut nullius maeroris, nullius laboris, meminisse possim. Sed et onus

quod meo, quamvis grave, porto in dorso, ab hoc loco usquequo ad monasterium perveniatur, quomodo nescio, in tantum relevatur, ut me oneratum non sentiam.' Quid plura? Sic omnes illi messorum operarii de se singillatim  
 5 profitentur per omnia sensisse, sicuti unus ex eis coram enarraverat, singulique simul flexis genibus a sancto postularunt Baitheneo ut eiusdem miri solaminis causam et originem, quod et ipse, sicut et ceteri sentiebant, illis ignorantibus, intimare procuraret. Quibus consequenter hoc  
 10 dedit responsum, 'Scitis,' inquit, 'quod noster senior Columba de nobis anxie cogitet, et nos ad se tardius pervenientes aegre ferat, nostri memor laboris, et idcirco quia corporaliter obviam nobis non venit, spiritus eius nostris obviat gressibus, qui taliter nos consolans laetificat.' Qui-  
 15 bus auditis verbis, ingeniculantes, cum ingenti gratulatione, expansis ad caelum manibus, Christum in sancto venerantur et beato viro.

*St. Columba's far-reaching voice.* Sed et hoc silere non debemus quod ab expertis quibusdam de voce beati psal-  
 20 modiae viri indubitanter traditum est. Quae scilicet vox venerabilis viri in ecclesia cum fratribus decantantis, aliquando per quatuor stadia, hoc est, quingentos passus, aliquando vero per octo, hoc est, mille passus, incomparabili elevata modo audiebatur. Mirum dictu! Nec in  
 25 auribus eorum qui secum in ecclesia stabant vox eius modum humanae vocis in clamoris granditate excedebat. Sed tamen eadem hora qui ultra mille passuum longinquitatem stabant, sic clare eandem audiebant vocem, ut illos quos canebat versiculos etiam per singulas possent distin-  
 30 guere syllabas: similiter enim eius vox in auribus prope et longe audientium personabat. Sed hoc de voce miraculum beati viri non semper, sed raro, accidisse comprobatur; quod tamen sine Divini Spiritus gratia nullo modo fieri potuisset.

*How it affected King Brude and his Druids.* Sed et illud non est tacendum quod aliquando de tali et incomparabili vocis eius sublevatione iuxta Brudei regis munitionem accidisse traditur. Nam ipse Sanctus cum paucis fratribus extra regis munitionem dum vespertinales Dei  
 40 laudes ex more celebraret, quidam magi, ad eos propius accedentes, in quantum poterant, prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinae laudis sonus inter gentiles audiretur populos. Quo comperto, Sanctus quadragesimum et

quartum psalmum decantare coepit, mirumque in modum ita vox eius in aere eodem momento instar alicuius formidabilis tonitruī elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti.

*Cap. XXXVIII. DE QUODAM DIVITE QUI LUGUDIUS 5*  
*CLODUS VOCITABATUR.*

*Prophecy of the death of a rich bad man.* Alio in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot Sanctus demoraretur dies. alium curruī insidentem videns clericum, qui gaudenter peragrabat Campum Breg, primo interrogans de eo quis esset, 10 hoc ab amicis eiusdem viri de eo accipit responsum, 'Hic est Lugudius Clodus, homo dives et honoratus in plebe.' Sanctus consequenter respondens inquit, 'Non ita video; sed homuncio miser et pauper, in die qua morietur, tria apud se vicinorum praetersoria in una retentabit maceria, 15 unamque electam de vaccis praetersoriorum occidi iubebit sibi, de cuius cocta carne postulabit aliquam sibi partem dari, cum meretrice in eodem lectulo cubanti. De qua utique particula morsum accipiens, statim ibidem strangulabitur et morietur.' Quae omnia, sicuti ab expertis traditur, 20 iuxta Sancti propheticum adimpleta sunt verbum. 25

*Cap. XXXIX. DE NEMANO FILIO GRUTHRICHE SANCTI*  
*PROPHETIA.*

*The same of another bad man.* Hunc enim cum Sanctus de malis suis corripere, parvipendens Sanctum subsanabat. 25 Cui respondens vir beatus ait, 'In nomine Domini, Nemane, aliqua de te veridica loquar verba. Inimici tui reperient te in eodem cum meretrice cubantem cubiculo, ibidemque trucidaberis. Daemones quoque ad loca poenarum tuam rapiunt animam.' Hic idem Nemanus, post 30 aliquot annos, in uno cum meretrice lectulo repertus in regione Cainle, iuxta verbum Sancti, ab inimicis decapitatus, disperiit.

*Cap. XL. DE QUODAM PRESBYTERO SANCTI VIRI PRO-*  
*PHETATIO.*

35

*Denunciation of an unworthy priest.* Alio in tempore Sanctus, cum in Scotiensium paulo superius moraretur memorata regione, casu Dominica die ad quoddam devenit



vicinum monasteriolum quod Scotice Trioit vocitatur. Eadem proinde die quendam audiens presbyterum sacra eucharistiae mysteria conficientem, quem ideo fratres, qui ibidem commanebant, ad missarum elegerant peragenda  
 5 sollemnia, quia valde religiosum aestimabant, repente hanc formidabilem de ore profert vocem, 'Munda et immunda pariter nunc permisceri cernuntur, hoc est, munda sacrae oblationis mysteria per immundum hominem ministrata, qui in sua interim conscientia aliquod grande occultat  
 10 facinus.' Haec qui inerant audientes tremefacti nimis obstupuerunt. Ille vero de quo haec dicebantur verba coram omnibus peccantium compulsus est suam confiteri. Christi-que commilitones, qui in ecclesia Sanctum circumstantes occulta cordis audierant manifestantem, divinam in eo  
 15 scientiam cum magna admiratione glorificarunt.

*Cap. XLI. DE ERCO FURE MOCUDRUIDI QUI IN COLOSO INSULA COMMANEBAT SANCTI PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.*

*Prophecy regarding a certain poacher.* Alio in tempore Sanctus in Ioua commanens insula, accitis ad se binis de  
 20 fratribus viris, quorum vocabula Lugbeus et Silnanus, eisdem praeci- piens dixit, 'Nunc ad Maleam transfretate insulam, et in campulis mari vicinis Ercum quaerite furacem; qui nocte praeterita solus occulte de insula Coloso perveniens, sub sua faeno tecta navicula inter are-  
 25 narum cumulos per diem se occultare conatur, ut noctu ad parvam transnaviget insulam ubi marini nostri iuris vituli generantur et generant; ut de illis furenter occisis edax valde furax suam replens naviculam, ad suum repedet habitaculum.' Qui, haec audientes, obsecuti emigrant,  
 30 furemque in locis a Sancto praesignatis absconsum reperiunt, et ad Sanctum, sicut illis praeceperat, perduxerunt. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum dicit, 'Quare tu res alienas, divinum transgressus mandatum, saepe furaris? Quando necesse habueris, ad nos veniens necessaria accipies postu-  
 35 lata.' Et haec dicens praecipit vervecem occidi, et pro phocis dari misero furaci, ne vacuus ad sua remearet. Et post aliquantum tempus Sanctus, in spiritu vicinam furis praevidens mortem, ad Baitheneum eo in tempore prae-positum commorantem in Campo Lunge mittit, ut eidem  
 40 furi quoddam pingue pecus et sex modios novissima mittat munera. Quibus a Baitheneo, sicut Sanctus commendaverat, transmissis, ea die inventus est morte subita prae-

ventus furax misellus, et in exequiis eius transmissa expensa sunt xenia.

**Cap. XLII. DE CRONANO POETA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.**

*Prophecy of the death of an Irish bard.* Alio in tempore, Sanctus cum iuxta Stagnum Cei, prope ostium fluminis 5 quod latine Bos dicitur, die aliqua cum fratribus sederet, quidam ad eos Scoticus poeta devenit; qui, cum post aliquam recessisset sermocinationem, fratres ad Sanctum, 'Cur,' aiunt, 'a nobis regrediente Cronano poeta aliquod ex more suae artis canticum non postulasti modulabiliter 10 decantari?' Quibus Sanctus, 'Quare et vos nunc inutilia profertis verba? quomodo ab illo misero homuncione carmen postularem laetitiae, qui nunc, ab inimicis trucidatus, finem ad usque ocus pervenit vitae.' His a Sancto dictis, et ecce ultra flumen aliquis clamat homo dicens, 15 'Ille poeta, qui a vobis nuper sospes rediit, hora in hac ab inimicis in via interfectus est.' Omnes tunc qui praesentes inerant valde mirati, se invicem intuentes obstupuerunt.

**Cap. XLIII. DE DUOBUS TIGERNIS SANCTI VATICINATIO VIRI, QUI AMBO MUTUIS VULNERIBUS DISPERIERANT.**

20

*Vision of a mortal combat between two chieftains.* Alio itidem in tempore Sanctus in Ioua conversans insula, repente inter legendum summo, cum ingenti admiratione, gemitu ingemuit maesto. Quod videns, qui praesens 25 inerat, Lugbeus Mocublai, coepit ab eo percunctari subiti causam maeroris. Cui Sanctus, valde maestificatus, hanc dedit responsionem, 'Duo quidam nunc regii generis viri in Scotia mutuis inter se vulneribus transfixi disperierunt, haud procul a monasterio quod dicitur Cellois, in provincia Maugdornorum, octavaque die, hac peracta hebdomade, 30 ultra fretum alius clamitabit, qui haec, de Hibernia veniens, ita taliter facta enarrabit. Sed hoc, O filiule, quamdiu vixero nemini indices.' Octava proinde ultra fretum clamat est die. Sanctus tum supra memoratum ad se Lugbeum vocans, silenter ad eum ait, 'Qui nunc clamitatur 35 ultra fretum ipse est, de quo tibi prius dixeram, longaevus viator. Vade, et adduc eum ad nos.' Qui, celeriter adductus, inter cetera hoc etiam retulit, 'Duo,' inquit, 'in parte Maugdornorum nobiles viri, se mutuo vulnerantes, mortui sunt; hoc est, Colman Canis filius Aileni et 40

Ronanus filius Aido filii Colgen, de Anteriorum genere, prope fines illorum locorum, ubi illud monasterium cernitur quod dicitur Cellrois.' Post haec illius verba narrationis, idem Lugbeus, Christi miles, Sanctum seorsum coepit  
 5 interrogare, dicens, 'Quaeso mihi de his talibus narres propheticis revelationibus quomodo, si per visum tibi, an auditu, an alio hominibus incognito manifestantur modo.' Ad haec Sanctus, 'De qua nunc,' ait, 'inquiris valde subtili re nullatenus tibi quamlibet aliquam intimare particulam  
 10 potero, nisi prius, flexis genibus, per nomen excelsi Dei mihi firmiter promittas hoc te obscurissimum sacramentum nulli unquam hominum cunctis diebus vitae meae enarraturum.' Qui, haec audiens, flexit continuo genua, et, prostrato in terram vultu, iuxta Sancti praeceptionem plene  
 15 omnia promisit. Qua statim perfecta promissione, Sanctus ad surgentem sic locutus inquit, 'Sunt nonnulli, quamlibet pauci admodum, quibus divina hoc contulit gratia, ut **etiam totum** totius terrae orbem, cum ambitu oceani et caeli, uno eodemque momento, quasi sub **uno solis radio**,  
 20 mirabiliter laxato mentis **sinu**, clare et **manifestissime speculentur**.' Hoc miraculum Sanctus, quamvis de aliis electis dicere videatur, vanam utique fugiens gloriam, de seipso tamen dixisse, per obliquum licet, nullus dubitare debet qui Paulum legit Apostolum, vas electionis, de talibus  
 25 narrantem sibi revelatis visionibus. Non enim ita scripsit, 'Scio me,' sed '**Scio hominem, raptum usque ad tertium caelum**.' Quod quamlibet de alio dicere videatur, nemo tamen dubitat sic de propria, humilitatem custodiens, enarrare persona. Quem etiam et noster Columba in spirita-  
 30 lium visionum narratione secutus est superius memorata, quam ab eo supradictus vir, quem plurimum Sanctus amabat, magnis precibus praemissis, vix potuit extorquere, sicut ipse coram aliorum personis sanctorum, post sancti Columbae transitum, testatus est: a quibus haec quae de  
 35 Sancto supra narravimus indubitanter didicimus.

*Cap. XLIV. DE CRONANO EPISCOPO.*

*Detection of a bishop who concealed his rank.* Alio in tempore quidam de Muminensium provincia proselytus ad Sanctum venit; qui se in quantum potuit occultabat  
 40 humiliter, ut nullus sciret quod esset episcopus: sed tamen Sanctum hoc non potuit latere. Nam alia die Dominica a

Sancto iussus Christi corpus ex more conficere, Sanctum advocat, ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens, repente intuitus faciem eius, sic eum compellat, 'Benedicat te Christus, frater; hunc solus, episcopali ritu, frange panem: 5 nunc scimus quod sis episcopus. Quare hucusque te occultare conatus es, ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio?' Quo audito Sancti verbo, humilis peregrinus, valde stupefactus, Christum in Sancto veneratus est; et qui inerant praesentes nimis admirati, glorificarunt 10 Dominum.

*Cap. XLV. DE ERNANO PRESBYTERO SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.*

*Prophecy of the death of Ernan.* Alio itidem in tempore vir venerandus Ernanum presbyterum, senem, suum avunculum, ad praeposituram illius monasterii transmisit quod in Hinba insula ante plures fundaverat annos. Itaque cum ipsum Sanctus emigrantem exosculatus benediceret, hoc de eo intulit vaticinium, dicens, 'Hunc meum nunc egredientem amicum non me spero iterum in hoc saeculo 20 viventem visurum.' Itaque idem Ernanus post non multos dies, quadam molestatus aegrimonia, ad Sanctum volens reportatus est: cuius in perventione valde gavisus, ire obvius ad portum coepit. Ipse vero Ernanus, quamlibet infirmis, propriis tamen, vestigiis a portu obviare Sancto 25 conabatur valde alacer. Sed cum esset inter ambos quasi viginti quatuor passuum intervallum, subita morte praeventus, priusquam Sanctus faciem eius videret viventis, expirans in terram cecidit, ne verbum Sancti ullo frustraretur modo. Unde in eodem loco ante ianuam canabae 30 crux infixata est, et altera ubi Sanctus restitit, illo expirante, similiter crux hodieque infixata stat.

*Cap. XLVI. DE ALICUIUS PLEBEII FAMILIOLA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.*

*Prophecy regarding a poor family.* Alio quoque in tempore quidam inter ceteros ad Sanctum plebeius venit in loco hospitantem qui Scotice vocitatur Coire Salchain; quem cum Sanctus ad se vespere venientem vidisset, 'Ubi, ait, 'habitas?' Ille inquit, 'In regione quae littoribus Stagni Crogreth est contermina ego inhabito.' 'Illam 40 quam dicis provinciolam,' ait Sanctus, 'nunc barbari popu-

lantur vastatores.' Quo audito, miser plebeius maritam et filios deplangere coepit. Quem Sanctus valde maerentem videns, consolans inquit, 'Vade, homuncule, vade, tua familiola tota in montem fugiens evasit; tua vero omnia  
 5 pecuscula secum invasores abegerunt, omnemque domus suppellectilem similiter saevi raptores cum praeda rapuere.' Haec audiens plebeius, ad patriam regressus, cuncta, sicuti a Sancto praedicta, sic invenit expleta.

Cap. XLVII. DE QUODAM PLEBEIO, GOREO NOMINE, FILIO  
 10 AIDANI, SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

*Enigmatical prophecy of the death of a peasant.* Alio itidem in tempore quidam plebeius, omnium illius aetatis in populo Korkureti fortissimus virorum, a sancto percunctatur viro qua morte esset praeveniendus. Cui Sanctus,  
 15 'Nec in bello,' ait, 'nec in mari morieris: comes tui itineris, a quo non suspicaris, causa erit tuae mortis.' 'Fortassis,' inquit Goreus, 'aliquis de meis comitantibus amicis me trucidare cogitet, aut marita ob alicuius iunioris viri amorem me maleficio mortificare.' Sanctus, 'Non ita,'  
 20 ait, 'continget.' 'Quare,' Goreus inquit, 'de meo interfectore mihi nunc intimare non vis?' Sanctus, 'Idcirco,' ait, 'nolo tibi de illo tuo comite nocuo nunc manifestius aliquid edicere, ne te eius crebra recogniti recordatio nimis maestificet, donec illa veniat dies qua eiusdem rei veritatem  
 25 probabis.' Quid immoramur verbis? Post aliquot annorum excursus, idem supra memoratus Goreus, casu alia die sub navi residens, cultello proprio cristiliam de hastili eradebat; tum deinde alios prope inter se belligerantes audiens, citius surgit ut eos a belligeratione separaret,  
 30 eodemque cultello illa subitatione negligentius in terra dimisso, eius genicula offenso graviter vulnerata est. Et tali faciente comite, causa ei mortificationis oborta est; quam ipse continuo, secundum sancti vaticinationem viri, mente percussus, recognovit; postque aliquantos menses,  
 35 eodem aggravatus dolore, moritur.

Cap. XLVIII. DE ALIA ETIAM RE, QUAMLIBET MINORE, PUTO NON ESSE TACENDA SANCTI IUCUNDA PRAESCIENTIA ET PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.

*Prophecy of the arrival of a crane from Ireland.* Alio  
 40 namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in Ioua inhabitaret

13. КОРКУРЕТИ *litteris maiusculis A.*

insula, unum de fratribus advocans, sic compellat, 'Tertia ab hac illucescente die expectare debebis in occidentali huius insulae parte, super maris oram sedens: nam de aquilonali Hiberniae regione quaedam hospita grus, ventis per longos aeris agitata circuitus, post nonam diei horam 5 valde fessa et fatigata superveniet, et pene consumptis viribus, coram te in litore cadens recumbet; quam misericorditer sublevare curabis, et ad propinquam deportabis domum, ibidemque hospitaliter receptam, per tres dies et noctes ei ministrans, sollicite cibabis; et post expleto 10 recreata triduo, nolens ultra apud nos peregrinari, ad priorem Scotiae dulcem, unde orta, remeabit regionem, plene resumptis viribus; quam ideo tibi sic diligenter commendo, quia de nostrae paternitatis regione est oriunda.' Obsecundat frater, tertiaque die post horam nonam, ut 15 iussus, praescitae adventum praestolatur hospitae, adventantemque de littore levat lapsam, ad hospitium portat infirmam, esurientem cibant. Cui ad monasterium vespere reverso Sanctus, non interrogans sed narrans, ait, 'Benedicat te Deus, mi fili, quia peregrinae bene ministrasti 20 hospitae, quae in peregrinatione non demorabitur, sed post ternos soles ad patriam repedabit.' Quod ita ut Sanctus praedixit et res etiam probavit. Nam trinalibus hospitata diebus, coram hospite ministro de terra se primum volando elevans in sublime, paulisperque in aere viam speculata, 25 oceani transvadato aequore, ad Hiberniam recto volatus cursu die repedavit tranquillo.

*Cap. XLIX. DE BELLO QUOD IN MUNITIONE CETHIRNI POST MULTA COMMISSUM EST TEMPORA, ET DE QUODAM FONTICULO EIUSDEM TERRULAE PROXIMO BEATI PRAE- 30 SCIENTIA VIRI.*

*Prophecy of the defilement of a well by blood from a battle.* Alio in tempore vir beatus cum post regum in Dorso Cethe conductum, Aidi videlicet filii Ainmurech, et Aidani filii Gabrani, ad campos reverteretur aequoreos, ipse et Com- 35 gellus abbas quadam serena aestivi temporis die, haud procul a supra memorata munitione resident. Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo ad manus lavandas fonticulo ad Sanctos in aeneo defertur vasculo. Quam cum sanctus Columba accepisset, ad abbatem Comgellum a 40 latere sedentem sic profatur, 'Ille fonticulus, O Comgelle, de quo haec effusa nobis allata est aqua, veniet dies

quando nullis usibus humanis aptus erit.' 'Qua causa,' ait Comgellus, 'eius fontana corrumpetur unda?' Sanctus tum Columba, 'Quia humano,' inquit, 'cruore replebitur: nam mei cognationales amici et tui secundum  
 5 carnem cognati, hoc est, Nellis Nepotes et Cruthini populi, in hac vicina munitione Cethirni belligerantes committent bellum. Unde in supra memorato fonte aliquis de mea cognatione trucidabitur homuncio, cuius  
 10 replebitur.' Quae eius veridica suo tempore post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello, ut multi norunt populi, Domnallus Aidi filius victor sublimatus est, et in eodem, secundum sancti vaticinium viri, fonticulo, quidam de parentela eius interfectus est homo. Alius mihi Adam-  
 15 nano Christi miles, Finanus nomine, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis iuxta Roboreti monasterium Campi irreprehensibiliter ducebat, de eodem bello se praesente commisso aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicto fonte truncum cadaverinum vidisse, eademque die ad  
 20 monasterium sancti Comgelli quod Scotice dicitur Cambas commisso reversum bello, quia inde prius venerat, ibidemque duos sancti Comgelli senes monachos reperisse: quibus cum de bello coram se acto, et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, aliquanta enarraret, illi consequenter, 'Verus  
 25 propheta Columba,' aiunt, 'qui haec omnia quae hodie de bello et de fonticulo expleta enarras, ante multos annos futura, nobis audientibus, coram sancto Comgello, iuxta Cethirni sedens munitionem, praenunciaverat.'

Cap. L. DE DIVERSORUM DISCRETIONE XENIORUM SANCTO  
 30 REVELATA VIRO DIALI GRATIA.

*How St. Columba distinguished worthy and unworthy givers.* Eodem in tempore Conallus, episcopus Culera-  
 thin, collectis a populo Campi Eilni paene innumerabili-  
 bus xeniis, beato viro hospitium praeparavit, post conductum  
 35 supra memoratorum regum, turba prosequente multa, revertenti: proinde sancto advenienti viro xenia populi multa, in platea monasterii strata, benedicenda assignantur. Quae cum benedicens aspiceret, xenium alicuius opulenti viri specialiter demonstrans, 'Virum,' ait, 'cuius est hoc  
 40 xenium, pro misericordiis pauperum, et eius largitione, Dei comitatur misericordia.' Itemque aliud discernit inter alia multa xenium, inquires, 'De hoc ego xenio viri sapien-

tis et avari nullo modo gustare possum, nisi prius veram de peccato avaritiae poenitudinem egerit.' Quod verbum cito in turba divulgatum audiens, accurrit Columbus filius Aidi conscius, et coram Sancto flexis genibus poenitentiam agit, et de cetero avaritiae abrenunciaturum se promittit, et largitatem cum morum emendatione consecuturum. Et, iussus a Sancto surgere, ex illa hora est sanatus de vitio tenacitatis. Erat enim vir sapiens, sicuti Sancto in eius revelatum erat xenio. Ille vero dives largus, Brendenus nomine, de cuius xenio paulo superius dictum est, audiens et ipse Sancti verba de se dicta, ingeniculans ad pedes Sancti, precatur ut pro eo ad Dominum Sanctus fundat precem: qui, ab eo primum pro quibusdam suis obiurgatus peccatis, poenitudinem gerens, de cetero se emendaturum promisit; et sic uterque de propriis emendatus et sanatus est vitiis. 15

Simili scientia Sanctus et alio tempore xenium alicuius tenacis viri, inter multa cognovit xenia, Diormiti nomine, ad Cellam Magnam Deathrib in eius adventu collecta.

*The above are only a few instances of the Saint's prophetic gifts.* 20

Haec de beati viri prophetica gratia, quasi de plurimis pauca, in huius libelli textu primi caraxasse sufficiat. Pauca dixi, nam hoc de venerabili viro non est dubitandum quod valde numerosiora fuerint quae in notitiam hominum, sacramenta interius celata, venire nullo modo poterant, quam ea quae, quasi quaedam parva aliquando stillicidia, veluti per quasdam rimulas alicuius pleni vasis ferventissimo novo distillabant vino. Nam sancti et apostolici viri, vanam evitantes gloriam, plerumque in quantum possunt interna quaedam arcana, sibi intrinsecus a Deo manifestata, celare festinant. Sed Deus nonnulla ex eis, velint nolint ipsi, divulgat, et in medium quoquo profert modo, videlicet glorificare volens glorificantes se Sanctos, hoc est, ipsum Dominum, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. 35

Huic primo libro hic imponitur terminus; nunc sequens orditur liber de virtutum miraculis, quae plerumque etiam prophetalis praescientia comitatur.



## CAPITULA SECUNDI LIBRI INCIPIUNT,

### DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS

De vino quod de aqua factum est. (I.)

De amarissimis alicuius arboris pomis, in dulcedinem per  
5 Sancti benedictionem versis. (II.)

De terra, post medium aetatis tempus arata et seminata,  
mensis Augusti incipientis exordio maturam messem  
proferente. (III.)

De morbifera nube, et languentium sanitate. (IV.)

10 De Mauguina sancta virgine, et fractura coxae eius sanata.  
(V.)

De multorum morbis fimbriae vestimenti eius tactu, in  
Dorso Cete, sanatis. (VI.)

De petra salis a Sancto benedicta, quam ignis absumere  
15 non potuit. (VII.)

De librariis foliis manu Sancti scriptis, quae aqua nullo  
modo corrumpi potuerunt. (VIII, IX.)

De aqua, quae, Sancto orante, ex dura producta est petra.  
(X.)

20 De aqua fontana, quam Sanctus ultra Britannicum bene-  
dixit Dorsum, et sanavit. (XI.)

De Sancti periculo in mari, et de magna tempestate in  
tranquillitatem continuo, orante ipso, conversa. (XII.)

De altero eius periculo, et de sancto Cainnecho pro ipso  
25 et sociis eius orante. (XIII.)

De baculo in portu sancti Cainnechi neglecto. (XIV.)

De Baitheneo et Columbano filio Beognoi, qui a Sancto  
secundum, eadem die, sed diversa via, ventum sibi  
dari postularunt. (XV.)

30 De daemonis repulsione qui in lactis vasculo latitabat.  
(XVI.)

De vasculo quod quidam maleficus, lacte de masculo bove  
expresso, diabolica replevit arte; sed, Sancto orante,  
ipsum quod videbatur lac, in sanguinem, hoc est, in  
35 naturam propriam, versum est. (XVII.)

- De Lugneo Mocumin, quem Sanctus de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro ex naribus eius profluebat, oratione et digitorum tactu sanavit. (xviii.)
- De esoce magno in fluvio, iuxta verbum Sancti, invento. (xix.) 5
- De duobus piscibus, illo prophetante, in flumine quod vocatur Boo repertis. (xix.)
- De quodam plebeio qui Nesanus Curvus dicebatur. (xx.)
- De quodam divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigeno. (xx.)
- De Columbano aequae plebeio viro, cuius pecora admodum 10 pauca vir sanctus benedixit; sed post illius benedictionem usque ad centenarium creverunt numerum. (xxi.)
- De interitu Johannis filii Conallis, eadem die qua Sanctum spernens dehonora- 15 vit. (xxii.)
- De alicuius Feradachi morte, fraudulentis viri, a Sancto praenunciata. (xxiii.)
- De alio persecutore, cuius nomen latine Manus Dextera dicitur. (xxiv.)
- De alio innocentium persecutore, qui in Laginensium pro- 20 vincia, sicut Annanias coram Petro, eodem momento, a Sancto terribiliter obiurgatus, cecidit mortuus. (xxv.)
- De apri mortificatione, qui a Sancto eminus cecidit, signo prostratus Dominicae crucis. (xxvi.) 25
- De alia aquatili bestia, quae, eo orante, et manum e contra levante, retro repulsa est ne Lugneo natanti vicino noceret. (xxvii.)
- De insulae Ioniae viperinis serpentibus, qui, ex qua die Sanctus eam benedixit, nulli hominum nec etiam 30 pecoribus nocere potuerunt. (xxviii.)
- De hasta ab eo signata, quae deinceps nullo modo, quamlibet fortiter impulsa, alicui potuit nocere animanti. (xxix.)
- De Diormiti aegrotantis sanitate. (xxx.) 35
- De Fenteni filii Aido, in extremis positi, sanitate. (xxxi.)
- De puero quem mortuum, in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, in regione Pictorum, suscitavit. (xxxii.)

- De conflictu eius contra magum Broichanum, ob ancillae retentionem ; et de lapide quem Sanctus benedixit, qui in aqua quasi pomum supernatavit. (xxxiii.)
- De beati viri contra Broichanum magum refragatione, et  
5 venti contrarietate. (xxxiv.)
- De spontanea regiae munitionis portae subita apertione. (xxxv.)
- De ecclesiae Duorum Agri Rivorum simili reclusionem. (xxxvi.)
- 10 De alio paupere, plebeio mendico, cui Sanctus sudem faciens benedixit, ad ferarum iugulationem silvestrium. (xxxvii.)
- De utre lactario, quem unda maris abduxit, et reduxit ad terram. (xxxviii.)
- 15 De Librano Harundineti sancti prophetatio viri. (xxxix.)
- De quadam muliercula, magnas et valde difficiliore par-  
turbationis tortiones passa, et sanata. (xl.)
- De coniuge Lugnei odiosi gubernatoris. (xli.)
- De Cormaco Nepote Lethani, et eius navigationibus, sancti  
20 Columbae prophetatio. (xlii.)
- De venerabilis viri in curru evectione, absque currilium obicum communitio. (xliii.)
- De pluvia post aliquot siccitatis menses, beati ob honorem  
viri, super sitientem, Domino donante, terram effusa.  
25 (xliv.)
- Miraculum quod nunc, Deo propitio, describere incipimus,  
nostris temporibus factum, propriis inspeximus oculis:
- De ventorum flatibus contrariis, venerabilis viri virtute  
orationum, in secundos conversis ventos. (xlv.)
- 30 De mortalitate. (xlvi.)

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA SECUNDI LIBRI.

## LIBER SECUNDUS

### DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS

#### Cap. I. DE VINO QUOD DE AQUA FACTUM EST.

*Turning of water into wine.* Alio in tempore, cum vir venerandus in Scotia apud sanctum Findbarrum episcopum, 5 adhuc iuvenis, sapientiam sacrae Scripturae addiscens, commaneret, quadam solempni die vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu aliquo minime inveniebatur: de cuius defectu cum ministros altaris inter se conquerentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad sacrae 10 Eucharistiae ministeria aquam, quasi diaconus, fontanam hauriret: ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans. Vir itaque beatus aquaticum, quod de latice hausit, elementum, invocato nomine Domini Iesu Christi, fideliter benedixit, qui in Cana Galileae aquam in vinum convertit: quo etiam in hoc operante 15 miraculo, inferior, hoc est aquatica natura, in gratiorem, videlicet vinalem, per manus praedicabilis viri conversa est speciem. Vir itaque sanctus, a fonte reversus, et ecclesiam intrans, talem iuxta altare urceum intra se habentem 20 deponit liquorem; et ad ministros, 'Habetis,' ait, 'vinum, quod Dominus Iesus ad sua misit peragenda mysteria.' Quo cognito, sanctus cum ministris episcopus eximias Deo referunt grates. Sanctus vero iuvenis hoc non sibimet, sed sancto Vinniano adscribebat episcopo. 25 Hoc itaque protum virtutis documentum Christus Dominus per suum declaravit discipulum, quod in eadem re, initium ponens signorum in Cana Galileae, operatus est per semet- ipsum.

Huius, inquam, libelli, quasi quaedam lucerna, illustret 30 exordium, quod per nostrum Columbam diale manifestatum est miraculum; ut deinceps transeamus ad cetera, quae per ipsum ostensa sunt, virtutum miracula.

1. *titulus deest* A. incipit secundus liber de virtutum miraculis quae plenissime plerumque etiam praescientia prophetalis comitatur B. incipit liber secundus de virtutum miraculis C. F. S. sancti columbe *add.* D. 7. *Cummian*, IV.

*Cap. II. DE ALICUIUS ARBORIS FRUCTU AMARO PER SANCTI BENEDICTIONEM IN DULCEDINEM VERSO.*

*Changing bitter apples to sweet.* Quaedam arbor erat valde pomosa prope monasterium Roboris Campi, in 5 australi eius parte; de qua cum incolae loci quoddam haberent pro nimia fructus amaritudine querimonium, quadam die Sanctus ad eam accessit autumnali tempore, vidensque lignum incassum abundos habere fructus qui ex eis gustantes plus laederent quam delectarent, sancta 10 elevata manu, benedicens ait, 'In nomine omnipotentis Dei omnis tua amaritudo, O arbor amara, a te recedat; tuaque huc usque amarissima nunc in dulcissima vertantur poma.' Mirum dictu, dicto citius, eodemque momento, eiusdem arboris omnia poma, amissa amaritudine, in miram, 15 secundum verbum Sancti, versa sunt dulcedinem.

*Cap. III. DE SEGETE POST MEDIUM AESTATIS TEMPUS SEMINATA, ET IN EXORDIO AUGUSTI MENSIS, SANCTO ORANTE, MESSA, IN IOUA CONVERSANTE INSULA.*

*Procuring rapid growth of corn.* Alio in tempore Sanctus 20 suos misit monachos ut de alicuius plebeii agellulo virgarum fasciculos ad hospitium afferrent construendum. Qui cum ad Sanctum, oneraria repleta navi de supradictis virgularum materiis, reversi venirent, dicerentque plebeium eiusdem causa dispendii valde contristatum, Sanctus con- 25 sequenter praecipiens dicit, 'Ne ergo illum scandalizemus virum, ad ipsum a nobis bis terni deferantur hordei modii, eosdemque his in diebus arata ipse seminet in terra.' Quibus ad plebeium, Findchanum nomine, iuxta Sancti iussionem, missis, et coram eo cum tali commendatione 30 adsignatis, gratanter accipiens, ait, 'Quomodo post medium aestum tempus seges seminata, contra huius naturam terrae, proficiet?' Marita e contra, 'Fac,' ait, 'secundum Sancti mandatum, cui Dominus donabit quodcunque ab eo postulaverit.' Sed et qui missi sunt simul hoc addiderunt, 35 dicendo, 'Sanctus Columba, qui nos ad te cum hoc misit munere, hoc mandatum per nos de tua commendavit segete, dicens,—Homo ille in omnipotentia Dei confidat: seges eius, quamvis de mense Iunio duodecim praemissis diebus seminata, in principiis Augusti mensis metetur.' Obse- 40 quitur plebeius arando et seminando; et messem, quam supradicto in tempore contra spem seminavit, cum omnium

admiratione vicinorum in exordio Augusti mensis maturam, iuxta verbum Sancti, messuit, in loco terrae qui dicitur Delcros.

Cap. IV. DE MORBIFERA NUBE, ET PLURIMORUM SANITATE.

*A pestilential cloud.* Alio itidem in tempore, cum Sanctus 5 in Ioua commoraretur insula, sedens in monticulo qui Latine Munitio Magna dicitur, videt ab aquilone nubem densam et pluuialem, de mari die serena obortam: qua ascendente visa, Sanctus ad quendam de suis iuxta se monachum sedentem, nomine Silnanum, filium Nemani- 10 don Mocusogin, 'Haec nubes,' ait, 'valde nocua hominibus et pecoribus erit; hacque die velocius transvolans super aliquantam Scotiae partem, hoc est, ab illo rivulo qui dicitur Ailbine usque ad Vadum Clied, pluuiam vespere distillabit morbiferam, quae gravia et purulenta humanis in 15 corporibus, et in pecorum uberibus, nasci faciet ulcera; quibus homines morbidus et pecudes, illa venenosa gravitudine usque ad mortem molestati, laborabunt. Sed nos eorum miserati subvenire languoribus, Domino miserante, debemus. Tu ergo, Silnane, nunc mecum descendens de 20 monte, navigationem praepara crastina die, **vita comite** et Deo volente, a me pane accepto, Dei invocato nomine benedicto, quo in aqua intincto, homines ea conspersi, et pecora, celerem recuperabunt salutem.' Quid moramur? Die crastina, his quae necessaria erant citius praeparatis, Sil- 25 nanus, accepto de manu Sancti pane benedicto, in pace enavigavit. Cui Sanctus, a se eadem emigranti hora, addit hoc consolatorium verbum, dicens, 'Confide, fili, ventos habebis secundos et prosperos die noctuque, usque dum ad illam pervenias regionem quae dicitur Ard Ceannachte, 30 ut languentibus ibidem celerius cum salubri subvenias pane.' Quid plura? Silnanus, verbo obsecutus Sancti, prospera et celeri navigatione, auxiliante Domino, ad supra memoratam perveniens partem illius regionis, plebem de qua Sanctus praedixerat devastatam nubis praedictae mor- 35 biferam reperiit pluvia superpluente, citius praecurrentis. Imprimisque bis terni viri in eadem mari vicina domo reperti in extremis morte positi appropinquante, ab eodem Silnano aqua benedictionis aspersi, in eodem die opportunius sanati sunt. Cuius subitae sanationis rumor, per 40 totam illam morbo pestilentiore vastatam regionem cito divulgatus, omnem morbidum ad sancti Columbae legatum

invitavit populum; qui, iuxta Sancti mandatum, homines et pecora pane intincta benedicto aqua conspersit, et continuo plenam recuperantes salutem, homines, cum pecudibus salvati, Christum in sancto Columba cum eximia  
 5 gratiarum actione laudarunt. In hac itaque superscripta narratione, ut aestimo, duo haec manifeste pariter comitantur; hoc est, gratia prophetationis de nube, et virtutis miraculum in aegrotantium sanitate. Haec per omnia esse verissima, supradictus Silnanus, Christi miles, sancti legati  
 10 tus Columbae, coram Segineo abbate et ceteris testatus est senioribus.

*Cap. V. DE MAUGINA SANCTA VIRGINE DAIMENI FILIA, QUAE INHABITAVERAT IN CLOCHUR FILIORUM DAIMENI.*

*A broken hip-bone cured by holy water.* Alio in tempore  
 15 Sanctus, cum in Ioua demoraretur insula, prima diei hora, quendam advocans fratrem, Lugaidum nomine, cuius cognomen Scotice Lathir dicitur, et taliter eum compellat, dicens, 'Praepara cito ad Scotiam celerem navigationem, nam mihi valde est necesse te usque ad Clocherum filiorum  
 20 Daimeni destinare legatum. In hac enim praeterita nocte, casu aliquo, Maugina, sancta virgo, filia Daimeni, ab oratorio post missam domum reversa, titubavit, coxaeque eius in duas confracta est partes. Haec saepius meum, inclamitans, nomen commemorat, a Domino sperans se accepturam  
 25 per me consolationem.' Quid plura? Lugaido obsecundanti, et consequenter emigranti, Sanctus pineam tradit cum benedictione capsellam, dicens, 'Benedictio, quae in hac capsellula continetur, quando ad Mauginam pervenies visitandam, in aquae vasculum intingatur, eademque bene-  
 30 dictionis aqua super eius infundatur coxam; et statim, invocato Dei nomine, coxale coniungetur os, et densabitur; et sancta virgo plenam recuperabit salutem.' Et hoc Sanctus addit, 'En ego coram in huius capsae operculo numerum viginti trium annorum describo, quibus sacra  
 35 virgo in hac praesenti, post eandem salutem, victura est vita.' Quae omnia sic plene expleta sunt, sicuti a Sancto praedicta: nam, statim ut Lugaidus ad sanctam pervenit virginem, aqua benedicta, sicut Sanctus commendavit, per-  
 40 fusa coxa, sine ulla morula condensato osse, plene sanata est; et in adventu legati sancti Columbae cum ingenti gratiarum actione gavis, viginti tribus annis, secundum

21. Mauguina B. Cf. p. 123.

Sancti prophetiam, post sanitatem, in bonis actibus permanens, vixit.

*Cap. VI. DE HIS QUAE IN DORSO CEATE PERACTAE SUNT DIVERSORUM SANITATIBUS MORBORUM.*

*Cures at Drumceath.* Vir vitae praedicabilis, sicuti nobis 5  
ab expertis traditum est, diversorum languores infirmorum,  
invocato Christi nomine, illis in diebus sanavit, quibus, ad  
regum pergens conductum in Dorso Cethe, brevi commoratus  
est tempore. Nam aut sanctae manus protensione, aut  
aqua ab eo benedicta, aegroti plures aspersi, aut etiam 10  
fimbriae eius tactu amphibali, aut alicuius rei, salis vide-  
licet vel panis, benedictione accepta, et lymphis intincta,  
plenam credentes recuperarunt salutem.

*Cap. VII. DE PETRA SALIS A SANCTO BENEDICTA, QUAM  
IGNIS ABSUMERE NON POTUIT.*

15

*Preservation of a lump of salt.* Alio itidem in tempore  
Colgu filius Cellachi postulata a Sancto petram salis  
benedictam accipit, sorori et suae nutrici profuturam, quae  
ophthalmiae laborabat valde gravi languore. Talem eu-  
logiam eadem soror et nutricia de manu fratris accipiens, 20  
in pariete super lectum suspendit; casuque post aliquantos  
contigit dies, ut idem viculus, cum supradictae domuncula  
feminae, flamma vastante, totus concremaretur. Mirum  
dictu, illius parietis particula, ne beati viri in ea deperiret  
suspensa benedictio, post totam ambustam domum, stans 25  
illaesa permansit; nec ignis ausus est attingere binales, in  
quibus talis pendebat salis petra, sudes.

*Cap. VIII. DE LIBRARIO FOLIO SANCTI MANU DESCRIPTO,  
QUOD AQUA CORRUMPI NON POTUIT.*

*Preservation of a leaf written by St. Columba.* Aliud 30  
miraculum aestimo non tacendum, quod aliquando factum  
est per contrarium elementum. Multorum namque trans-  
cursis annorum circulis post beati ad Dominum transitum  
viri, quidam iuvenis de equo lapsus in flumine, quod  
Scotice Boend vocitatur, mersus et mortuus, viginti sub 35  
aqua diebus permansit; qui, sicuti sub ascella, cadens,  
libros in pelliceo reconditos sacculo habebat, ita etiam  
post supra memoratum dierum numerum est repertus,  
sacculum cum libris inter brachium et latus continens;  
cuius etiam ad aridam reportato cadavere, et aperto sacculo, 40



folium sancti Columbae sanctis scriptum digitulis, inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupta sed et putrefacta, inventum est siccum et nullo modo corruptum, ac si in scriniolo esset reconditum.

5 *Cap. IX. DE ALIO MIRACULO IN RE SIMILI GESTO.*

*Also of a hymn-book.* Alio in tempore hymnorum liber septimaniorum sancti Columbae manu descriptus, de cuiusdam pueri de ponte elapsi humeris, cum pelliceo in quo inerat sacco, in quodam partis Laginorum fluvio  
10 submersus cecidit. Qui videlicet libellus, a Natalitio Domini usque ad Paschaliū consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quendam Iogenanum presbyterum, gente Pictum, cuius prius iuris  
15 erat, in eodem, non solum madefacto, sed etiam putrefacto, portatur sacco. Quem scilicet saccum idem Iogenanus aperiens, suum incorruptum libellum invenit, et ita nitidum et siccum, ac si in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore, et nunquam in aquas cecidisset. Sed et alia de libris manu  
20 sancti Columbae caraxatis similia ab expertis indubitanter didicimus in diversis acta locis: qui scilicet libri, in aquis mersi, nullo modo corrumpi potuere. De supra memorato vero Iogenani libro a viris quibusdam veracibus et perfectis bonique testimonii, sine ulla ambiguitate, relationem  
25 accepimus; qui eundem libellum, post tot supradictos submersionis dies, candidissimum et lucidissimum considerarunt.

Haec duo, quamlibet in rebus parvis peracta, et per contraria ostensa elementa, ignem scilicet et aquam, beati  
30 testantur honorem viri, et quanti et qualis meriti apud habeatur Dominum.

*Cap. X. DE AQUA QUAE, SANCTO ORANTE, EX DURA, PRODUCTA EST PETRA.*

*Water brought from a rock. A prophecy.* Et quia paulo  
35 superius aquatici facta est mentio elementi, silere non debemus etiam alia miracula, quae per Sanctum Dominus eiusdem in re, licet diversis temporibus et locis, creaturae peregit. Alio namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in sua conversaretur peregrinatione, infans ei per parentes ad  
40 baptizandum offertur iter agenti; et quia in vicinis aqua non inveniebatur locis, Sanctus, ad proximam declinans

rupem, flexis genibus paulisper oravit, et post orationem surgens, eiusdem rupis frontem benedixit; de qua consequenter aqua abundanter ebulliens fluxit; in qua continuo infantem baptizavit. De quo etiam baptizato haec, vaticinans, intulit verba, inquit, 'Hic puerulus usque in 5 extremam longaevus vivet aetatem; in annis iuvenilibus carnalibus desideriis satis serviturus, et deinceps Christianae usque in exitum militiae mancipandus, in bona senectute ad Dominum emigrabit.' Quae omnia eidem viro iuxta Sancti contigerunt vaticinium. Hic erat Lugu- 10 cencalad, cuius parentes fuerant in Artdaib Muirchol, ubi hodieque fonticulus, sancti nomine Columbae pollens, cernitur.

*Cap. XI. DE ALIA MALIGNA FONTANA AQUA QUAM VIR BEATUS IN PICTORUM REGIONE BENEDIXIT.*

15

*A baneful spring blessed and healed.* Alio in tempore vir beatus, cum in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demoraretur dies, audiens in plebe gentili de alio fonte divulgari famam, quem quasi deum stolidi homines, diabolo eorum obcaecante sensus, venerabantur; nam de eodem fonticulo 20 bibentes, aut in eo manus vel pedes de industria lavantes, daemoniaca, Deo permittente, percussi arte, aut leprosi, aut lusci, aut etiam debiles, aut quibuscunque aliis infestati infirmitatibus revertebantur. Ob quae omnia seducti gentiles divinum fonti deferebant honorem. Quibus compertis, 25 Sanctus alia die intrepidus accessit ad fontem. Quod videntes magi, quos saepe ipse confusos et victos a se repellebat, valde gavisii sunt, scilicet putantes eum similia illius nocuae tactu aquae passurum. Ille vero imprimis elevata manu sancta, cum invocatione Christi nominis, 30 manus lavat et pedes; tum deinde cum sociis de eadem, a se benedicta, bibit. Ex illaque die daemones ab eodem recesserunt fonte, et non solum nulli nocere permissus est, sed etiam, post Sancti benedictionem et in eo lavationem, multae in populo infirmitates per eundem sanatae sunt 35 fontem.

*Cap. XII. DE BEATI VIRI IN MARI PERICULO, ET TEMPESTATIS EO ORANTE SUBITA SEDATIONE.*

*A storm ceases at his prayer.* Alio in tempore vir sanctus in mari periclitari coepit; totum namque vas navis, valde 40 concussum, magnis undarum cumulis fortiter feriebat,

grandi undique insistente ventorum tempestate. Nautae tum forte Sancto, sentinam cum illis exhaurire conanti, aiunt, 'Quod nunc agis non magnopere nobis proficit periclitantibus; exorare potius debes pro pereuntibus.' Quo  
 5 audito, aquam cessat amaram exinanire, hininglas; dulcem vero et intentam precem coepit ad Dominum fundere. Mirum dictu, eodem horae momento, quo Sanctus, in prora stans, extensis ad caelum palmis, Omnipotentem exoravit, tota aeris tempestas et maris saevitia, dicto citius  
 10 sedata, cessavit, et statim serenissima tranquillitas subsequuta est. Qui vero navi inerant, obstupefacti, cum magna admiratione referentes gratias, glorificaverunt Dominum in sancto et praedicabili viro.

Cap. XIII. DE ALIO EIUS IN MARI SIMILI PERICULO (IN  
 15 VORTICE BRECAIN. Cod. B).

*Another storm ceases at the prayer of St. Cainnech.* Alio quoque in tempore, saeva nimis insistente et periculosa tempestate, sociis ut pro eis Sanctus Dominum exoraret inclamitantibus; hoc eis dedit responsum, dicens, 'Hac in  
 20 die non est meum pro vobis in hoc periculo constitutis orare, sed est abbatis Cainnichi, sancti viri.' Mira dicturus sum. Eadem hora sanctus Cainnichus, in suo conversans monasterio, quod Latine Campulus Bovis dicitur, Scotice vero Ached-bou, Spiritu revelante Sancto, supradictam  
 25 sancti Columbae interiore cordis aure vocem audierat; et cum forte post nonam coepisset horam in refectorio eulogiam frangere, ocius deserit mensulam, unoque in pede inhaerente calceo, et altero pro nimia festinatione relicto, festinanter pergit hac cum voce ad ecclesiam,  
 30 'Non est nobis nunc temporis prandere quando in mari periclitatur navis sancti Columbae. Hoc enim momento, ipse huius nomen Cainnichi ingeminans commemorat, ut pro eo et sociis periclitantibus Christum exoret.' Post haec illius verba oratorium ingressus, flexis genibus paulisper  
 35 oravit; eiusque orationem exaudiente Domino, illico tempestas cessavit, et mare valde tranquillum factum est. Tum deinde sanctus Columba, Cainnichi ad ecclesiam prooperationem in spiritu videns, quamlibet longe conversantis, mirabiliter hoc de puro pectore profert verbum,  
 40 dicens, 'Nunc cognovi, O Cainniche, quod Deus tuam exaudierit precem; nunc valde nobis proficit tuus ad

27. eylogiam sic cap. vii. supra (litera Y ex Graeca Y effecta) A.

ecclesiam velox cum uno calceamento cursus.' In hoc itaque tali miraculo amborum, ut credimus, oratio cooperata est Sanctorum.

Cap. XIV. DE BACULO, IN PORTU, SANCTI CAINNICH, NEGLECTO.

5

*The staff of St. Cainnech projected over the sea.* Alio in tempore idem supra memoratus Cainnichus suum, a portu Iouae insulae ad Scotiam navigare incipiens, baculum secum portare oblitus est; qui scilicet eius baculus, post ipsius egressum in litore repertus, sancti in manum traditus 10 est Columbae; quemque, domum reversus, in oratorium portat, et ibidem solus in oratione diutius demoratur. Cainnichus proinde ad Oidecham appropinquans insulam, subito de sua oblivione compunctus, interius percussus est. Sed post modicum intervallum, de navi descendens, et in 15 terra cum oratione genua flectens, baculum, quem in portu Iouae insulae oblitus post se reliquit, super cespitem terrulae Aithche ante se invenit. De cuius etiam effecta divinitus evectione valde est miratus cum gratiarum in Deo actione. 20

Cap. XV. DE BAITHENEEO ET COLUMBANO FILIO BEOGNI, SANCTIS PRESBYTERIS, EADEM SIBI DIE VENTUM PROSPERUM A DOMINO PER BEATI VIRI ORATIONEM DONARI POSTULANTIBUS, SED DIVERSA NAVIGANTIBUS VIA.

*The wind changed at the prayer of St. Columba.* Alio 25 quoque in tempore superius memorati sancti viri ad Sanctum venientes, ab eo simul unanimes postulant ut ipse a Domino postulans impetraret prosperum crastina die ventum sibi dari diversa emigraturis via. Quibus Sanctus respondens, hoc dedit responsum, 'Mane crastina 30 die Baitheneus, a portu Iouae enavigans insulae, flatum habebit secundum usquequo ad portum perveniat Campi Lunge.' Quod ita, iuxta Sancti verbum, Dominus donavit: nam Baitheneus plenis eadem die velis magnum totumque pelagus usque ad Ethicam transmeavit terram. Hora vero 35 eiusdem diei tertia vir venerandus Columbanum advocat presbyterum dicens, 'Nunc Baitheneus prospere optatum pervenit ad portum: ad navigandum te hodie praepara; mox Dominus ventum convertet in aquilonem.' Cui sic prolato beati viri verbo eadem hora auster obsecundans 40 ventus se in aquiloneum convertit flatum; et ita in eadem

die uterque vir sanctus, alter ab altero in pace aversus, Baitheneus mane ad Ethicam terram, Columbanus post meridiem Hiberniam incipiens appetere, plenis enavigavit velis et flatibus secundis. Hoc illustris viri virtute orationum, Domino donante, effectum est miraculum; quia, sicut scriptum est, **Omnia possibilia sunt credenti**. Post illa in die sancti Columbanus egressum, sanctus hoc de illo propheticum Columba protulit verbum, 'Vir sanctus Columbanus, cui emigranti benediximus, nusquam in hoc saeculo faciem videbit meam.' Quod ita post expletum est, nam eodem anno sanctus Columba ad Dominum transiit.

**Cap. XVI. DE REPULSIONE DAEMONIS QUI IN LACTARIO LATITABAT VASCULO.**

*A demon driven out of a milk-pail.* Alio in tempore quidam iuvenis, Columbanus nomine, Nepos Briuni, ad ianuam tugurioli subito perveniens restitit, in quo vir beatus scribebat. Hic idem, post vaccarum reversus mulsiorem, in dorso portans vasculum novo plenum lacte, dicit ad Sanctum, ut iuxta morem tale benediceret onus. Sanctus tum ex adverso eminens in aere signum salutare manu elevata depinxit, quod illico valde concussum est, gergennaque operculi, per sua bina foramina retrusa, longius proiecta est, operculum terra tenus cecidit, lac ex maiore mensura in solum defusum est. Iuvenculus vas, cum parvo quod remanserat lactis, super fundum in terra deponit, genua suppliciter flectit. Ad quem Sanctus, 'Surge,' ait, 'Columbane, hodie in tua operatione negligenter egisti, daemonem enim in fundo vacui latitantem vasculi, impresso Dominicae crucis signo, ante infusionem lactis, non effugasti: cuius videlicet signi nunc virtutem non sustinens, tremefactus, toto pariter turbato vase, velociter cum lactis effusione aufugit. Huc ergo ad me propius vasculum, ut illud benedicam, approxima.' Quo facto, Sanctus semivacuum quod benedixerat vas, eodem momento divinitus repletum repertum est; parvumque quod prius in fundo vasis remanserat, sub sanctae manus benedictione, usque ad summam citius excreverat.

**Cap. XVII. DE VASCULO QUOD QUIDAM MALEFICUS NOMINE SILNANUS LACTE DE MASCULO BOVE EXPRESSO REPLEVERAT.**

*Milk taken from an ox.* Hoc in domo alicuius plebei divitis, qui in monte Cainle commorabatur, Foirtgirn

nomine, factum traditur. Ubi cum Sanctus hospitaretur, inter rusticanos contendentes duos, quorum prius adventum praescivit, recta iudicatione iudicavit: unusque ex eis, qui maleficus erat, a Sancto iussus, de bove masculo, qui prope erat, lac arte diabolica expressit: quod Sanctus, non<sup>5</sup> ut illa confirmaret maleficia, fieri iussit, quod absit; sed ut ea coram multitudine destrueret. Vir itaque beatus vas, ut videbatur tali plenum lacte, sibi ocius dari poposcit; et hac cum sententia benedixit dicens, 'Modo probabitur non esse hoc verum, quod putatur, lac, sed daemonum fraude,<sup>10</sup> ad decipiendos homines, decoloratus sanguis: ' et continuo lacteus ille color in naturam versus est propriam, hoc est, in sanguinem. Bos quoque, qui per unius horae momentum, turpi macie tabidus et maceratus, erat morti proximus, benedicta a Sancto aqua superfusus, mira sub celeritate<sup>15</sup> sanatus est.

*Cap. XVIII. DE LUGNEO MOCUMIN.*

*Bleeding at the nose cured.* Quadam die quidam bonae indolis iuvenis, Lugneus nomine, qui postea senex in monasterio Elenae insulae praepositus erat, ad Sanctum<sup>20</sup> veniens, queritur de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro per multos menses de naribus eius immoderate profluebat. Quo propius accito, Sanctus ambas ipsius nares binis manus dexteræ digitulis constringens benedixit. Ex qua hora benedictionis nunquam sanguis de naso eius usque<sup>25</sup> ad extremum distillavit diem.

*Cap. XIX. DE PISCIBUS BEATO VIRO SPECIALITER A DEO PRAEPARATIS.*

*A large salmon in the net.* Alio in tempore, cum praedicabilis viri sociales, strenui piscatores, quinos in rete<sup>30</sup> pisces cepissent in fluvio Sale piscoso, Sanctus ad eos, 'Iterato,' ait, 'rete in flumen mittite, et statim invenietis grandem, quem mihi Dominus praeparavit, piscem.' Qui, verbo Sancti obtemperantes, mirae magnitudinis traxerunt in retiaculo esocem a Deo sibi praeparatum. Alio quoque<sup>35</sup> in tempore, cum Sanctus iuxta Cei Stagnum aliquantis demoraretur diebus, comites ire ad piscandum cupientes retardavit, dicens, 'Hodie et cras nullus in flumine repe-

27. de esoce magno in fluvio sale iuxta verbum sancti invento B.  
35. capit. novum orditur, cui praefigitur titulus de duobus piscibus illo prophetante in flumine quod vocitatur boo repertis B.

rietur piscis: tertia mittam vos die, et invenietis binos grandes, in rete retentos, fluminales esoces.' Quos ita post duas dieculas, rete mittentes, duos rarissimae magnitudinis, in fluvio qui dicitur Bo reperientes, ad terram  
 5 traxerunt. In his duabus memoratis piscationibus, miraculi apparet virtus et prophetica simul praescientia comitata, pro quibus Sanctus et socii Deo grates eximias reddiderunt.

*Cap. XX. DE NESANO CURVO QUI IN EA REGIONE CONVER-*  
 10 *SABATUR QUAE STAGNO APORUM EST CONTERMINA.*

*The saint blesses a poor but hospitable man.* Hic Nesanus, cum esset valde inops, sanctum alio tempore gaudenter hospitio recepit virum. Cui cum hospitaliter secundum vires, unius noctis spatio ministrasset, Sanctus ab eo in-  
 15 quirir, cuius boculas numeri haberet: ille ait, 'Quinque.' Sanctus consequenter, 'Ad me,' ait, 'adduc, ut eas benedicam.' Quibus adductis, et elevata manu sancta benedictis, 'Ab hac die tuae pauculae quinque vacculae crescent,' ait Sanctus, 'usque ad centum et quinque vaccarum nu-  
 20 merum.' Et quia idem Nesanus homo plebeius erat, cum uxore et filiis, hoc etiam ei vir beatus benedictionis augmentum intulit, dicens, 'Erit semen tuum in filiis et nepotibus benedictum.' Quae omnia plene, iuxta verbum Sancti, sine ulla expleta sunt imminutione. [De quodam  
 25 viro divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigenio, qui sanctum Columbam despexerat, nec eum hospitio recepit, hanc e contrario protulit prophetalem sententiam, inquires, 'Illius autem avari divitiae, qui Christum in peregrinis hospitibus sprexit, ab hac die paulatim imminuentur, et ad nihilum  
 30 redigentur; et ipse mendicabit; et filius eius cum semivacua de domo in domum perula discurrer; et, ab aliquo eius aemulo securi in fossula excussorii percussus morietur.' Quae omnia de utroque, iuxta sancti prophetiam viri, plene sunt expleta.]

35 *Cap. XXI. DE COLUMBANO AEQUE PLEBEIO VIRO, CUIUS PECORA ADMODUM PAUCA VIR SANCTUS BENEDIXIT; SED POST ILLIUS BENEDITIONEM USQUE AD CENTENARIUM CREVERUNT NUMERUM.*

*He blesses a poor man's cattle.* Alio quoque tempore vir  
 40 beatus quadam nocte, cum apud supra memoratum Colum-

24-34. om. A. sine rubrica, paragrapho, titulo, aut quavis distinctione tenori praecedentium adhaeret B.

banum tunc temporis inopem, bene hospitaretur, mane primo Sanctus, sicuti superius de Nesano commemoratum est, de quantitate et qualitate substantiae plebeium hospitem interrogat. Qui interrogatus, 'Quinque,' ait, 'tantummodo habeo vacculas; quae, si eas benedixeris, in maius crescent.' Quas illico, a Sancto iussus, adduxit, similique modo, ut supra de Nesani quinis dictum est vacculis, et huius Columbani boculas quinales aequaliter benedicens, inquit, 'Centenas et quinque, Deo donante, habebis vaccas, et erit **in filiis et nepotibus tuis florida benedictio.**' Quae omnia, iuxta beati viri prophetationem, in agris et pecoribus eius et prole, plenissime adimpleta sunt; mirumque in modum numerus a Sancto praefinitus supra memoratis ambobus viris, in centenario vaccarum et quinario expletus numero, nullo modo superaddi potuit: nam illa, quae supra praefinitum excedebant numerum, diversis praerepta casibus, nusquam comparuerant, excepto eo quod aut in usus proprios familiae, aut etiam in opus eleemosynae, expendi poterat. In hac itaque narratione, ut in ceteris, virtutis miraculum et prophetia simul aperte ostenditur: nam in magna vaccarum ampliacione benedictionis pariter et orationis virtus apparet, et in praefinitione numeri prophetalis praescientia.

**Cap. XXII. DE MALEFACTORUM INTERITU QUI SANCTUM DISPEXERANT.**

*Predicts the fate of a persecutor.* Vir venerandus supra memoratum Columbanum, quem de paupere virtus benedictionis eius ditem fecit, valde diligebat; quia ei multa pietatis officia praebebat. Erat autem illo in tempore quidam malefactor homo, bonorum persecutor, nomine Ioan filius Conallis filii Domnallis, de regio Gabrani ortus genere. Hic supradictum Columbanum, sancti amicum Columbae, persequabatur; domumque eius, omnibus in ea inventis, devastaverat, ereptis, non semel, sed bis inimiciter agens. Unde forte non immerito eidem maligno accidit viro, ut tertia vice post eiusdem domus tertiam depraedationem, beatum virum, quem quasi longius positum dispexerat, propius appropinquantem, ad navem revertens praeda onustus cum sociis, obvium haberet. Quem cum Sanctus de suis corripere malis, praedamque deponere

10. **Cummian, XXV.** 24. de interitu iohannis filii conallis eadem die qua sanctum spernens dehonoravit B.



rogans suaderet, ille, immitis et insuadibilis permanens, Sanctum dispexit, navimque cum praeda ascendens, beatum virum subsannabat et deridebat. Quem Sanctus ad mare usque prosecutus est, vitreasque intrans aquas usque ad  
 5 genua aequoreas, levatis ad caelum ambis manibus, Christum intente precatur, qui suos glorificantes se glorificat electos. Est vero ille portus, in quo post egressum persecutoris stans paulisper Dominum exorabat, in loco qui Scotice vocitatur Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol. Tum  
 10 proinde Sanctus, expleta oratione, ad aridam reversus, in eminentiore cum comitibus sedet loco : ad quos illa in hora formidabilia valde profert verba, dicens, 'Hic miserabilis homuncio, qui Christum in suis dispexit servis, ad portum, a quo nuper coram vobis emigravit, nunquam revertetur ;  
 15 sed nec ad alias, quas appetit, terras, subita praeventus morte, cum suis perveniet malis cooperatoribus. Hodie, quam mox videbitis, de nube a borea orta immitis immissa procella eum cum sociis submerget ; nec de eis etiam unus remanebit fabulator.' Post aliquantum paucularum inter-  
 20 ventum morarum, die serenissima, et ecce de mari oborta, sicut Sanctus dixerat, nubes, cum magno fragore venti emissa, raptorem cum praeda inter Maleam et Colosum insulas inveniens, subito turbato submersit medio mari : nec ex eis, iuxta verbum Sancti, qui navi inerant etiam  
 25 unus evasit ; mirumque in modum, toto circumquaque manente tranquillo aequore, talis una rapaces ad inferna submersos prostravit procella, misere quidem, sed digne.

*Cap. XXIII. DE QUODAM FERADACHO SUBITA MORTE SUBTRACTO.*

30 *Fate of a treacherous man.* Alio quoque in tempore vir sanctus quendam de nobili Pictorum genere exulem, Tarainum nomine, in manum alicuius Feradachi ditis viri, qui in Ilea insula habitabat, diligenter assignans commendavit, ut in eius comitatu, quasi unus de amicis, per  
 35 aliquot menses conversaretur. Quem cum tali commendatione de sancti manu viri suscepisset commendatum, post paucos dies, dolose agens, crudeli eum iussione trucidavit. Quod immane scelus cum Sancto a commeantibus esset nunciatum, sic respondens profatus est, 'Non mihi  
 40 sed Deo ille infelix homunculus mentitus est, cuius nomen de libro vitae delebitur. Haec verba aesteo nunc mediante

28. de alicuius feradachi morte fraudulentis viri a sancto praenunciata B.

proloquimur tempore, sed autumnali, antequam de suilla degustet carne, arboreo saginata fructu; subita praeventus morte, ad infernaliam rapietur loca.' Haec sancti prophetia viri, cum misello nunciaret homuncioni, despiciens irrisit Sanctum: et post dies aliquot autumnalium mensium, eo iubente, scrofa nucum impinguata nucleis iugulatur, necdum aliis eiusdem viri iugulatis suis; de qua celeriter exinterata partem sibi in veru celerius assari praecipit, ut de ea impatiens homo praegustans, beati viri prophetationem destrueret. Qua videlicet assata, dari sibi poposcit aliquam praegustandam morsus particulam; ad quam percipiendam extensam manum priusquam ad os converteret, expirans, mortuus retro in dorsum cecidit. Et qui viderant, et qui audierant, valde tremefacti, admirantes, Christum in sancto propheta honorificantes glorificarunt.

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*Cap. XXIV. DE ALIO QUODAM NEFARIO HOMINE, ECCLESIARUM PERSECUTORE, CUIUS NOMEN LATINE MANUS DEXTERA DICITUR.*

*Sees at a distance that a certain ruffian is slain.* Alio in tempore, vir beatus cum alios ecclesiarum persecutores, in Hinba commoratus insula, excommunicare coepisset, filios videlicet Conallis filii Domnaill, quorum unus erat Ioan, de quo supra retulimus, quidam ex eorundem malefactoribus sociis, diaboli instinctu, cum hasta irruit, ut Sanctum interficeret. Quod praecavens unus ex fratribus, Findluganus nomine, mori paratus pro sancto viro, cuculla eius indutus intercessit. Sed mirum in modum beati viri tale vestimentum, quasi quaedam munitissima et impenetrabilis lorica, quamlibet fortis viri forti impulsione acutioris hastae, transfigi non potuit, sed illaesum permansit; et qui eo indutus erat, intactus et incolumis tali protectus est munimento. Ille vero sceleratus, qui Manus Dextera, retro repedavit, aestimans quod sanctum hasta transfixisset virum. Post ex ea die completum annum, cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, 'Usque in hanc diem,' ait, 'integratus est annus, ex qua die Lam-dess, in quantum potuit, Findluganum mea iugulavit vice; sed et ipse, ut aestimo, hac in hora iugulatur.' Quod iuxta Sancti revelationem eodem momento in illa insula factum est, quae Latine Longa vocitari potest: ubi ipse solus Lam-dess, in aliqua virorum utrinque acta belligeratione, Cronani filii Baithani iaculo transfixus, in nomine, ut fertur, sancti

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Columbae emissio, interierat; et post eius interitum belligere viri cessarunt.

*Cap. XXV. DE ALIO ITIDEM INNOCENTIIUM PERSECUTORE.*

*His sentence on a murderer, when he was a deacon.* Cum  
 5 vir beatus, adhuc iuvenis diaconus, in parte Laginensium,  
 divinam addiscens sapientiam, conversaretur, quadam acci-  
 dit die ut homo quidam innocuorum immitis persecutor  
 crudelis, quadam in campi planitie filiolum fugientem  
 persequeretur. Quae cum forte Gemmanum senem, supra  
 10 memorati iuvenis diaconi magistrum, in campo legentem  
 vidisset, ad eum recto cursu, quanta valuit velocitate, con-  
 fugit. Qui, tali perturbatus subitatione, Columbam eminus  
 legentem advocat, ut ambo, in quantum valuissent, filiam a  
 persequente defenderent. Qui, statim superveniens, nulla  
 15 eis ab eo data reverentia, filiam sub vestimentis eorum  
 lancea iugulavit; et relinquens iacentem mortuam super  
 pedes eorum, aversus abire coepit. Senex tum, valde  
 tristificatus, conversus ad Columbam, 'Quanto,' ait, 'sancte  
 puer Columba, hoc scelus cum nostra dehonoratione tem-  
 20 poris spatio inultum fieri Iudex iustus patietur Deus?'  
 Sanctus consequenter hanc in ipsum sceleratorem protulit  
 sententiam, dicens, 'Eadem hora qua interfectae ab eo  
 filiae anima ascendit ad caelos, anima ipsius interfectoris  
 descendat ad inferos.' Et, dicto citius, cum verbo, sicut  
 25 Ananias coram Petro, sic et ille innocentium iugulator,  
 coram oculis sancti iuvenis, in eadem mortuus cecidit  
 terrula. Cuius rumor subitae et formidabilis vindictae  
 continuo per multas Scotiae provincias, cum mira sancti  
 diaconi fama, divulgatus est.  
 30 Hucusque de adversariorum terrificis ultionibus dixisse  
 sufficiat: nunc de bestiis aliqua narrabimus pauca.

*Cap. XXVI. DE APRO PER EIUS ORATIONEM INTEREMPTO.*

*Sentence of death on a wild boar.* Alio in tempore vir  
 beatus, cum in Scia insula aliquantis demoraretur diebus,  
 35 paulo longius solus, orationis intuitu, separatus a fratribus,  
 silvam ingressus densam, mirae magnitudinis aprum,

3. qui in laginensium provincia sicut ananias coram petro eodem mo-  
 mento a sancto terribiliter obiurgatus cecidit mortuus *add. B.* 32. de  
 apri mortificatione qui a sancto eminus cecidit signo prostratus dominicae  
 crucis B. 36. *Cummian, XXV.*

quem forte venatici canes persequabantur, obviam habuit. Quo viso eminus, Sanctus aspiciens eum restitit. Tum deinde, invocato Dei nomine, sancta elevata manu, cum intenta dicit ad eum oratione, 'Ulterius huc procedere noles: in loco ad quem nunc devenisti morere.' 5 Quo Sancti in silvis personante verbo, non solum ultra accedere non valuit, sed ante faciem ipsius terribilis ferus, verbi eius virtute mortificatus, cito corrui.

Cap. XXVII. DE CUIUSDAM AQUATILIS BESTIAE VIRTUTE ORATIONIS BEATI VIRI REPULSIONE.

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*A river monster driven back.* Alio quoque in tempore, cum vir beatus in Pictorum provincia per aliquot moraretur dies, necesse habuit fluvium transire Nesam: ad cuius cum accessisset ripam, alios ex accolis aspicit misellum humantes homunculum; quem, ut ipsi sepultores ferebant, 15 quaedam paulo ante nantem aquatilis praeripiens bestia morsu momordit saevissimo: cuius miserum cadaver, sero licet, quidam in alno subvenientes porrectis praeripuerunt uncinis. Vir e contra beatus, haec audiens, praecipit ut aliquis ex comitibus enatans, caupallum, in altera stantem 20 ripa, ad se navigando reducat. Quo sancti audito praedicabilis viri praecepto, Lugneus Mocumin, nihil moratus, obsecundans, depositis excepta vestimentis tunica, immittit se in aquas. Sed bellua, quae prius non tam satiata, quam in praedam accensa, in profundo fluminis latitabat, sentiens 25 eo nante turbatam supra aquam, subito emergens, natatilis ad hominem in medio natantem alveo, cum ingenti fremitu, aperto cucurrit ore. Vir tum beatus videns, omnibus qui ineran, tam barbaris quam etiam fratribus, nimio terrore percussis, cum salutare, sancta elevata manu, in vacuo aere 30 crucis pinxisset signum, invocato Dei nomine, feroci imperavit bestiae, dicens, 'Noles ultra progredi, nec hominem tangas, retro citius revertere.' Tum vero bestia, hac Sancti audita voce, retrorsum, ac si funibus retraheretur, velociori recursu fugit tremefacta: quae prius Lugneo nanti eo usque 35 appropinquavit, ut hominem inter et bestiam non amplius esset quam unius contuli longitudo. Fratres tum, recessisse videntes bestiam, Lugneumque commilitonem ad eos intactum et incolumem in navicula reversum, cum ingenti

9-10. de alia aquatili bestia quae eo orante et manum e contra levante retro repulsa est ne lugneo natanti vicino noceret B. 20. caupulum C. caballum D.

admiratione glorificaverunt Deum in beato viro. Sed et gentiles barbari, qui ad praesens inerant, eiusdem miraculi magnitudine, quod et ipsi viderant, compulsi, Deum magnificaverunt Christianorum.

5 *Cap. XXVIII. DE BENEDICTA A SANCTO HUIUS INSULAE TERRULA NE DEINCEPS IN EA VIPERARUM ALICUI NOCERENT VENENA.*

*Serpents made harmless in Iona.* Quadam die eiusdem aestei temporis quo ad Dominum transiit, ad visitandos  
 10 fratres Sanctus plaustro vectus pergit, qui in campulo occidentali Iouae insulae opus materiale exercebant. Post quorum consolatoria a Sancto prolata alloquia, in eminentiore stans loco, sic vaticinatur dicens, 'Ex hac, filioli, die, scio quod in huius campuli locis nunquam poteritis  
 15 in futurum videre faciem meam.' Quos, hoc audito verbo, valde tristificatos videns, consolari eos in quantum fieri possit conatus, ambas manus elevat sanctas, et totam hanc nostram benedicens insulam, ait, 'Ex hoc huius horulae momento omnium viperarum venena nullo modo, in huius  
 20 insulae terrulis, aut hominibus aut pecoribus nocere poterunt, quamdiu Christi mandata eiusdem commorationis incolae observaverint.'

*Cap. XXIX. DE PUGIONE A SANCTO CUM DOMINICAE CRUCIS SIGNACULO BENEDICTO.*

25 *A spear made harmless.* Alio in tempore quidam frater nomine Molua Nepos Briuni, ad Sanctum eadem scribentem hora veniens, dicit ad eum, 'Hoc quod in manu habeo ferrum, quaeso benedicas.' Qui, paululum extensa manu sancta, cum calamo signans benedixit, ad librum  
 30 de quo scribebat facie conversa. Quo videlicet supradicto fratre cum ferro benedicto recedente, Sanctus percunctatur dicens, 'Quod fratri ferrum benedixi?' Diormitius, pius eius ministrator, 'Pugionem,' ait, 'ad iugulandos tauros vel boves benedixisti.' Qui e contra respondens inquit,  
 35 'Ferrum quod benedixi, confido in Domino meo, quia nec homini nec pecori nocebit.' Quod Sancti firmissimum eadem hora comprobatum est verbum. Nam idem frater, vallum egressus monasterii, bovem iugulare volens, tribus firmis vicibus, et forti impulsione conatus, nec tamen potuit

5-7. de insule ione viperinis serpentibus qui ex qua die sanctus eam benedixit nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere B.

etiam eius transfigere pellem. Quod monachi scientes experti, eiusdem pugionis ferrum, ignis resolutum calore, per omnia monasterii ferramenta liquefactum diviserunt illinitum; nec postea ullam potuere carnem vulnerare, illius Sancti manente benedictionis fortitudine.

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**Cap. XXX. DE DIORMITII AEGROTANTIS SANITATE.**

*Recovery of one at the point of death.* Alio in tempore Diormitius, Sancti pius minister, usque ad mortem aegrotavit: ad quem, in extremis constitutum, Sanctus visitans accessit; Christique invocato nomine, infirmi ad lectulum stans, et pro eo exorans, dixit, 'Exorabilis mihi fias precor, Domine mi, et animam mei ministratoris pii de huius carnis habitaculo, me non auferas superstite.' Et hoc dicto aliquantisper conticuit. Tum proinde hanc de sacro ore profert vocem, dicens, 'Hic meus non solum hac vice nunc non morietur puer, sed etiam post meum annis vivet multis obitum.' Cuius haec exoratio est exaudita: nam Diormitius, statim post Sancti exaudibilem precem, plenam recuperavit salutem; per multos quoque annos post Sancti ad Dominum emigrationem supervixit.

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**Cap. XXXI. DE FINTENI FILII AIDO IN EXTREMIS POSITI SANITATE.**

*A similar case.* Alio quoque in tempore, Sanctus quum trans Britannicum iter ageret Dorsum, quidam iuvenis, unus comitum, subita molestatus aegrimonia, ad extrema usque perductus est, nomine Fintenus: pro quo commilitones Sanctum maestis rogitant ut oraret. Qui statim, eis compatiens, sanctas cum intenta oratione expandit ad caelum manus, aegrotumque benedicens, ait, 'Hic, pro quo interpellatis, iuenculus vita vivet longa; et post omnium nostrum qui hic adsumus exitum superstes remanebit, in bona moriturus senecta.' Quod beati viri vaticinium plene per omnia expletum est: nam idem iuvenis, illius postea monasterii fundator, quod dicitur Kailli-au-inde, in bona senectute praesentem terminavit vitam.

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**Cap. XXXII. DE PUERO QUEM MORTUUM VIR VENERANDUS IN CHRISTI DOMINI NOMINE SUSCITAVIT.**

*Another like case.* Illo in tempore, quo sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius familia verbum vitae per interpretatorem

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sancto praedicante viro, audiens credidit, credensque baptizatus est, maritus cum marita liberisque et familiaribus. Et, post aliquantulum diecularum intervallum paucarum, unus filiorum patrisfamilias, gravi correptus aegritudine, usque ad confinia mortis et vitae perductus est. Quem cum magi morientem vidissent, parentibus cum magna exprobratione coeperunt illudere, suosque, quasi fortiores, magnificare deos, Christianorum vero, tanquam infirmiori, Deo derogare. Quae omnia cum beato intimarentur viro, zelo suscitatus Dei, ad domum cum suis comitibus amici pergit plebeii, ubi parentes nuper defunctae prolis maestas celebrabant exequias. Quos Sanctus valde tristificatos videns, confirmans dictis compellat consolatoriis, ut nullo modo de divina omnipotentia dubitarent. Consequenter, que percunctatur, dicens, 'In quo hospitio corpus defuncti iacet pueri?' Pater tum orbatus Sanctum sub maestum deducit culmen, qui statim, omnem foris exclusam relinquens catervam, solus maestificatum intrat habitaculum, ubi illico, flexis genibus, faciem ubertim lacrymis irrigans, Christum precatur Dominum; et **post ingeniculationem surgens**, oculos convertit ad mortuum, dicens, '**In nomine Domini Jesu Christi resuscitare, et sta super pedes tuos.**' Cum hac Sancti honorabili voce anima ad corpus rediit, defunctusque apertis revixit oculis, cuius manum tenens apostolicus homo erexit, et in statione stabiliens, secum domum egressus deducit, et parentibus redivivum assignavit. Clamor tum populi attollitur, plangor in laetationem convertitur, Deus Christianorum glorificatur. Hoc noster Columba cum Elia et Eliseo prophetis habeat sibi commune virtutis miraculum; et cum Petro et Paulo et Ioanne apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resuscitatione; et inter utrosque, hoc est, prophetarum et apostolorum coetus, honorificam caelestis patriae sedem homo propheticus et apostolicus aeternalem cum Christo, qui regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia saecula saeculorum.

*Cap. XXXIII. DE BROICHANO MAGO OB ANCILLAE RETENTIONEM INFIRMATO, ET PRO EIUS LIBERATIONE SANATO.*

*Recovery of Broichan the Druid through the use of a pebble.* Eodem in tempore vir venerandus quandam a Broichano mago Scoticam postulavit servam humanitatis

20. Cummian, XXV,

miseratione liberandam: quam cum ille duro valde et  
 stolido retentaret animo, Sanctus ad eum locutus, hoc pro-  
 fatur modo, 'Scito, Broichane, scito quia si mihi hanc  
 peregrinam liberare captivam nolueris, priusquam de hac  
 revertar provincia, citius morieris.' Et hoc coram Brudeo <sup>5</sup>  
 rege dicens, domum egressus regiam, ad Nesam venit  
 fluvium, de quo videlicet fluvio lapidem attollens candidum,  
 ad comites, 'Signate,' ait, 'hunc candidum lapidem, per  
 quem Dominus in hoc gentili populo multas aegrotorum  
 perficiet sanitates.' Et hoc effatus verbum consequenter <sup>10</sup>  
 intulit, inquires, 'Nunc Broichanus fortiter concussus est,  
 nam angelus de caelo missus, graviter illum percutiens,  
 vitream in manu eius, de qua bibebat, confregit in multa  
 biberam fragmenta; ipsum vero anhelantem aegra reliquit  
 suspiria, morti vicinum. Hoc in loco paululum expectemus <sup>15</sup>  
 binos regis nuncios, ad nos celeriter missos, ut Broichano  
 morienti citius subveniamus: nunc Broichanus, formida-  
 biliter correptus, ancillulam liberare est paratus.' Adhuc  
 Sancto haec loquente verba, ecce, sicut praedixit, duo a  
 rege missi equites adveniunt, omniaque quae in regis <sup>20</sup>  
 munitione de Broichano, iuxta Sancti vaticinium, sunt acta,  
 enarrantes; et de poculi confractione, et de magi cor-  
 reptione, et de servulae parata absolutione; hocque intul-  
 lerunt, dicentes, 'Rex et eius familiares nos ad te miserunt,  
 ut nutricio eius Broichano subvenias, mox morituro.' <sup>25</sup>  
 Quibus auditis legatorum verbis, Sanctus binos de comitum  
 numero ad regem, cum lapide a se benedicto, mittit, dicens,  
 'Si in primis promiserit se Broichanus famulam liberatu-  
 rum, tum deinde hic lapillus intingatur in aqua, et sic de eo  
 bibat, et continuo salutem recuperabit: si vero renuerit, <sup>30</sup>  
 refragens absolvi servam, statim morietur.' Duo missi,  
 verbo Sancti obsequentes, ad aulam deveniunt regiam,  
 verba viri venerabilis regi enarrantes. Quibus intimatis  
 regi et nutricio eius Broichano, valde expaverunt: eadem-  
 que hora liberata famula sancti legatis viri assignatur, **lapis** <sup>35</sup>  
 in aqua intingitur, **mirumque in modum, contra naturam,**  
 lithus in aquis supernatat, quasi pomum, vel nux, **nec**  
**potuit sancti benedictio viri submergi.** De quo Broicha-  
 nus natante bibens lapide, **statim a vicina rediit morte,**  
**integramque carnis recuperavit salutem.** Talis vero <sup>40</sup>  
**lapis, postea, in thesauris regis reconditus, multas in**  
**populo aegritudinum sanitates, similiter in aqua natans**



intinctus, Domino miserante, **effecit**. Mirum dictu, ab his aegrotis, quorum vitae terminus supervenerat, requisitus idem lapis nullo modo reperiri poterat. Sic et in die obitus Brudei regis quaerebatur, nec tamen in eodem loco, ubi  
5 fuerat prius reconditus, inveniebatur.

*Cap. XXXIV. DE BEATI VIRI CONTRA BROICHANUM MAGUM REFRAGATIONE, ET VENTI CONTRARIETATE.*

*St. Columba sails against the wind.* Post supra memorata peracta, quadam die Broichanus ad sanctum pro-  
loquens virum infit, 'Dicito mihi, Columba, quo tempore  
10 proponis enavigare?' Sanctus, 'Tertia,' ait, 'die, Deo volente et **vita comite**, navigationem proponimus incipere.' Broichanus e contra, 'Non poteris,' ait; 'nam ego ventum tibi contrarium facere, caliginemque umbrosam superin-  
15 ducere possum.' Sanctus, 'Omnipotentia Dei,' ait, 'omnium dominatur, in cuius nomine nostri omnes motus, ipso gubernante, diriguntur.' Quid plura? Sanctus die eadem, sicut corde proposuit, ad lacum Nesae fluminis longum, multa prosequente caterva, venit. Magi vero gaudere tum  
20 coepere, magnam videntes superinductam caliginem, et contrarium cum tempestate flatum. Nec mirum haec interdum arte daemonum posse fieri, Deo permittente, ut etiam venti et aequora in asperius concitentur. Sic enim aliquando daemoniorum legiones sancto Germano episcopo,  
25 de Sinu Gallico, causa humanae salutis, ad Britanniam naviganti, medio in aequore occurrerant, et opposcentes pericula procellas concitabant, caelum diemque tenebrarum caligine obducebant. Quae tamen omnia, sancto orante Germano, dicto citius, sedata deteresa cessarunt caligine.  
30 Noster itaque Columba, videns contra se elementa concitari furentia, Christum invocat Dominum, cymbulamque ascendens, nautis haesitantibus, ipse constantior factus velum contra ventum iubet subrigi. Quo facto, omni inspectante turba, navigium flatus contra adversos mira  
35 vectum occurrit velocitate. Et post haud grande intervallum venti contrarii ad itineris ministeria cum omnium admiratione revertuntur. Et sic per totam illam diem flabris lenibus secundis flantibus, beati cymba viri optatum pervecta ad portum pulsa est. Perpendat itaque lector  
40 quantus et qualis idem vir venerandus, in quo Deus omnipotens, talibus praescriptis miraculorum virtutibus, coram plebe gentilica illustre suum manifestavit nomen.

**Cap. XXXV. DE SPONTANEA REGIAE MUNITIONIS PORTAE SUBITA APERTIONE.**

*The opening of the gates of King Brude.* Alio in tempore, hoc est, in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum, casu contigit ut idem rex, fastu elatus regio suae munitionis, superbe agens, in primo beati adventu viri, non aperiret portas. Quod ut cognovit homo Dei, cum comitibus ad valvas portarum accedens, in primis Dominicae crucis imprimens, signum, tum deinde manum pulsans contra ostia ponit; quae continuo sponte, retro retrusis fortiter seris, cum omni celeritate aperta sunt. Quibus statim apertis, Sanctus consequenter cum sociis intrat. Quo cognito, rex cum senatu valde pertimescens, domum egressus, obviam cum veneratione beato pergit viro, pacificisque verbis blande admodum compellat: et ex ea in posterum die sanctum et venerabilem virum idem regnator, suae omnibus vitae reliquis diebus, valde magna honoravit, ut decuit, honorificentia.

**Cap. XXXVI. DE ECCLESIAE DUORUM AGRI RIVORUM SIMILI RECLUSIONE.**

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*A lock opened without the key.* Alio itidem in tempore vir beatus aliquantis in Scotia diebus conversatus, ad visitandos fratres qui in monasterio Duum Ruris commanebant Rivulorum, ab eis invitatus, perrexit. Sed casu aliquo accidit ut, eo ad ecclesiam accedente, claves non reperirentur oratorii. Cum vero Sanctus de non repertis adhuc clavibus et de obseratis foribus inter se conquirerentes alios audisset, ipse ad ostium appropinquans, 'Potens est Dominus,' ait, 'domum suam servis etiam sine clavibus aperire suis.' Cum hac tum voce subito retro retrusis forti motu pessulis, sponte aperta ianua, Sanctus cum omnium admiratione ecclesiam ante omnes ingreditur, et hospitaliter a fratribus susceptus, honorabiliter ab omnibus veneratur.

**Cap. XXXVII. DE QUODAM PLEBEIO MENDICO CUI SANCTUS SUEM FACIENS AD IUGULANDAS BENEDIXIT FERAS.**

*St. Columba blesses a stake for killing wild animals.* Alio in tempore quidam ad Sanctum plebeius venit pauperimus, qui in ea habitabat regione quae Stagni litoribus

38. Cummian, XIV.

Aporici est contermina. Huic ergo miserabili viro, qui unde **maritam et parvulos cibaret non habebat**, vir beatus petenti, miseratus, ut potuit, quandam largitus eleemosynam, ait, '**Miselle homuncio, tolle de silva contulum vicina, et ad me ocys defer.**' Obsecundans miser, iuxta Sancti iussionem, detulit materiam; **quam Sanctus excipiens in veru exacuit**; quodque **propria** exacuminans manu, benedicens, et illi assignans inopi dixit, '**Hoc veru diligenter custodi, quod, ut credo, nec**  
**homini, nec alicui pecori, nocere poterit, exceptis feris**  
**bestiis quoque et piscibus; et quamdiu talem habueris**  
**sudem, nunquam in domo tua cervinae carnis cibatio abundans deerit.**' Quod audiens miser mendiculus, valde gavisus, domum revertitur, veruque in remotis infixit  
**terrulae locis, quae silvestres frequentabant ferae; et**  
**vicina transacta nocte, mane primo pergit revisitare**  
**volens veru, in quo mirae magnitudinis cervum cecidisse**  
**reperit transfixum. Quid plura? Nulla, ut nobis traditum**  
**est, transire poterat dies, qua non aut cervum, aut cervam,**  
**aut aliquam reperiret in veru infixo cecidisse bestiam.**  
 Repleta quoque tota de **ferinis carnibus** domo, vicinis superflua vendebat, quae hospitium suae domus capere non poterat. Sed tamen diaboli invidia per sociam, ut Adam, et hunc etiam miserum invenit; quae, non quasi prudens,  
**sed fatua, taliter ad maritum locuta est, 'Tolle de terra**  
**veru; nam si in eo homines, aut etiam pecora, perierint,**  
**tu ipse et ego cum nostris liberis aut occidemur aut**  
**captivi ducemur.'** Ad haec **maritus inquit, 'Non ita**  
**fiet; nam sanctus vir mihi, benedicens sudem, dixit quod**  
**nunquam hominibus aut etiam pecoribus nocebit.'** Post  
 haec verba mendicus, **uxori consentiens, pergit, et tollens**  
**de terra veru, intra domum, quasi amens, illud secus**  
**parietem posuit; in quo mox domesticus eius incidens**  
**canisisperiit. Quo pereunte, rursum marita, 'Unus,'**  
**ait, 'filiorum tuorum incidet in sudem et peribit.'** Quo  
 audito eius verbo, **maritus veru de pariete removens ad**  
**silvam reportat, et in densioribus infixit dumis, ut puta-**  
**bat ubi a nullo posset animante offendi. Sed postera**  
**reversus die capream in eo cecidisse et periisse reperit.**  
**Inde quoque illud removens, in fluvio qui Latine dici**  
**potest Nigra Dea, iuxta ripam sub aquis abscondens**  
**infixit: quod alia revisitans die, esocem in eo mirae**  
**magnitudinis transfixum et retentum invenit; quem de**

flumine elevans **vix solus** ad domum **portare** poterat, veruque secum de aqua simul reportans, extrinsecus in superiore tecti affixit loco; **in quo** et **corvus** devolatus, impetu lapsus desperiit **iugulatus**. **Quo facto**, miser, fatuae **coniugis consilio depravatus**, **veru tollens de tecto**,<sup>5</sup> assumpta **securi**, **in plures** concidens **particulas** in ignem proiecit. Et post, quasi suae paupertatis amisso non mediocri solatio, remendicare, ut meritus, coepit. Quod videlicet penuriae rerum solamen saepe superius in veru memorato dependebat, quod pro pedicis, et retibus, et omni<sup>10</sup> venationis et piscationis genere servatum posset sufficere, beati viri donatum benedictione, quodque amissum miser plebeius, eo ditatus pro tempore, ipse cum tota familiola, sero licet, omnibus de cetero deplanxit reliquis diebus vitae.

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**Cap. XXXVIII. DE LACTARIO UTRE QUEM SALACIA ABSTULIT UNDA ET VENILIA ITERUM REPRAESENTAVIT IN PRIORE LOCO.**

*The recovery of<sup>2</sup> a<sup>1</sup> leathern<sup>2</sup> milk-bag.* Alio in tempore beati legatus viri, Lugaidus nomine, cognomento Laitirus,<sup>20</sup> ad Scotiam iussus navigare proponens, inter navalia navis Sancti instrumenta utrem lactarium quaesitum inveniens, sub mari, congestis super eum non parvis lapidibus, madafaciendum posuit; veniensque ad Sanctum quod de utre fecit intimavit. Qui subridens inquit, 'Uter, quem ut dicis<sup>25</sup> sub undis posuisti, hac vice ut aestimo non te ad Hiberniam comitabitur.' 'Cur,' ait, 'non mecum in navi comitem eum habere potero?' Sanctus, 'Altera,' inquit, 'die quod res probabit scies.' Itaque Lugaidus mane postera die ad retrahendum de mari utrem pergit; quem tamen salacia<sup>30</sup> noctu subtraxit unda. Quo non reperto, ad Sanctum reversus tristis, flexis in terram genibus, suam confessus est negligentiam. Cui Sanctus, illum consolatus, ait, 'Noli, frater, pro fragilibus contristari rebus: uter (*sic*) quem salacia sustulit unda, ad suum locum, post tuum egressum, repor-<sup>35</sup>tabit venilia.' Eadem die post Lugaidi de Ioua insula emigrationem, hora transacta nona, Sanctus circumstantibus sic profatus, ait, 'Nunc ex vobis unus ad aequor pergat; utrem, de quo Lugaidus querebatur, et quem salacia sustulerat unda, nunc venilia retrahens, in loco unde sub-<sup>40</sup>tractus est repraesentavit.' Quo Sancti audito verbo, quidam alacer iuvenis ad oram cucurrit maris, repertumque

utrem, sicut praedixerat Sanctus, cursu reversus concito reportans, valde gavisus, coram Sancto, cum omnium qui ibidem inerant admiratione, assignavit. In his, ut saepe dictum est, binis narrationibus superius descriptis, quamlibet in parvis rebus, sude videlicet et utre, prophetia simul et virtutis miraculum comitari cernuntur. Nunc ad alia tendamus.

*Cap. XXXIX. DE LIBRANO ARUNDINETI PROPHETATIO SANCTI VIRI.*

10 *A humble clerk arrives at Iona.* Alio in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Ioua conversaretur insula, homo quidam plebeius nuper sumpto clericatus habitu, de Scotia transnavigans, ad insulanum beati monasterium viri devenit. Quem cum alia die Sanctus in hospitio residem hospitantem invenisset solum, primum de patria, de gente, et causa  
15 itineris, a Sancto interrogatus, de Connachtarum regione oriundum se professus est, et ad delenda in peregrinatione peccamina longo fatigatum itinere. Cui cum Sanctus, ut de suae poenitudinis exploraret qualitate, dura et laboriosa ante oculos monasterialia proposuisset imperia, ipse consequenter ad Sanctum respondens, inquit, 'Paratus sum ad omnia quaecunque mihi iubere volueris, quamlibet durissima, quamlibet indigna.' Quid plura? Eadem hora omnia sua confessus peccata, leges poenitentiae, flexis in  
20 terram genibus, se impleturum promisit. Cui Sanctus, 'Surge,' ait, 'et reside.' Tum deinde residentem sic compellat, 'Septennem debebis in Ethica poenitentiam explere terra. Ego et tu usquequo numerum expleas septennalium annorum, Deo donante, victuri sumus.' Quibus Sancti  
30 confortatus dictis, grates Deo agens, ad Sanctum, 'Quid me,' ait, 'agere oportet de quodam meo falso iuramento? nam ego quandam in patria commanens trucidavi homuncionem; post cuius trucidationem quasi reus in vinculis retentus sum. Sed mihi quidam cognationalis homo eiusdem parentelae, valde opibus opulentus, subveniens, me  
35 opportune et de vinculis vinculatum absolvit, et de morte reum eripuit. Cui post absolutionem cum firma iuratione promiseram me eidem omnibus meae diebus vitae servituum. Sed post aliquot dies in servitute peractos, servire  
40 homini dedignatus, et Deo potius obsecundare malens, desertor illius carnalis domini, iuramentum infringens, discessi, et ad te, Domino meum prosperante iter, per-

veni.' Ad haec Sanctus, virum pro talibus valde angustidens, sicuti prius prophetans, profatur, inquiens, 'Post septenorum, sicut tibi dictum est, expletionem annorum, diebus ad me huc quadragesimalibus venies, ut in Paschali solemnitate ad altarium accedas, et Eucharistiam sumas.' 5 Quid verbis immoramur? Sancti viri imperiis per omnia poenitens obsequitur peregrinus. Iisdemque diebus ad monasterium Campi missus Lunge, ibidem plene expletis in poenitentia septem annis, ad Sanctum, diebus quadragesimae, iuxta eius priorem propheticam iussionem, rever- 10 titur. Et post peractam Paschae solemnitatem, in qua iussus ad altare accessit, ad Sanctum de supra interrogans memorato venit iuramento. Cui Sanctus interroganti talia vaticinans responsa profatur, 'Tuus de quo mihi aliquando dixeras, carnalis superest dominus; paterque et mater et 15 fratres adhuc vivunt. Nunc ergo praeparare te debes ad navigationem.' Et inter haec verba machaeram belluinis ornatam dolatis protulit dentibus, dicens, 'Hoc accipe tecum portandum munus, quod domino pro tua redemptione offeres; sed tamen nullo modo accipiet. Habet enim 20 bene moratam coniugem, cuius salubri obtemperans consilio, te eadem die gratis, sine pretio, libertate donabit, cingulum ex more captivi de tuis resolvens lumbis. Sed hac anxietate solutus, aliam a latere surgentem non effugies sollicitudinem: nam tui fratres undique coarctabunt 25 te, ut tanto tempore patri debitam, sed neglectam, redintegres pietatem. Tu tamen, sine ulla haesitatione voluntati eorum obsecundans, patrem senem pie excipias confovendum. Quod onus, quamlibet tibi videatur grave, contristari non debes, quia mox depones: nam ex qua die incipies 30 patri ministrare, alia in fine eiusdem septimanae mortuum sepelies. Sed post patris sepultionem, iterum fratres te acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis impendas obsequia. De qua profecto compulsione tuus iunior te absolvet frater; qui tua vice paratus omne pietatis opus, 35 quod debes, pro te matri serviens reddet.' Post haec verba supra memoratus frater, Libranus nomine, accepto munere, Sancti ditatus benedictione perrexit; et ad patriam perveniens, omnia, secundum Sancti vaticinium, invenit vere probata. Nam statim, ut pretium suae offerens libertatis 40 ostendit domino, accipere volenti refragans uxor, 'Ut quid nobis,' ait, 'hoc accipere quod sanctus pretium misit Columba? Hoc non sumus digni. Liberetur ei pius hic

gratis ministrator. Magis nobis sancti viri benedictio proficiet, quam hoc quod offertur pretium.' Audiens itaque maritus hoc maritae salubre consilium, continuo gratis liberavit servum. Qui post, iuxta prophetiam Sancti, compulsus a fratribus, patrem, cui ministrare coepit, septima die mortuum sepelivit. Quo sepulto, ut et matri debite deserviret compellitur. Sed, subveniente iunior fratre, sicut Sanctus praedixerat, vicem eius adimplente, absolvitur. Qui ad fratres sic dicebat, 'Nullo modo nos oportet fratrem in patria retentare, qui per septem annos apud sanctum Columbam in Britannia salutem exercuit animae.' Post quae, ab omnibus quibus molestabatur, absolutus, matri et fratribus valedicens, liber reversus, ad locum qui Scotice vocitatur Daire Calgaich pervenit. Ibidemque navim sub velo a portu emigrantem inveniens, clamitans de litore rogitat, ut ipsum nautae cum eis susciperent navigaturum ad Britanniam. Sed ipsi non suscipientes refutaverunt eum, quia non erant de monachis sancti Columbae. Tum deinde ad eundem venerabilem loquens virum, quamlibet longe absentem, tamen spiritu praesentem, ut mox res probavit, 'Placetne tibi,' ait, 'sancte Columba, ut hi nautae, qui me tuum non suscipiunt socium, plenis velis et secundis enavigent ventis?' In hac voce ventus, qui ante illis erat secundus, dicto citius versus est contrarius. Inter haec videntes virum eundem e regione secus flumen cursitantem, subito inter se inito consilio, ad ipsum de navi inclamitantes dicunt nautici, 'Fortassis idcirco citius in contrarium nobis conversus est ventus quia te suscipere renuerimus. Quod si etiam nunc te ad nos in navim invitaverimus, contrarios nunc nobis flatus in secundos convertere poteris?' His auditis, viator ad eos dixit, 'Sanctus Columba, ad quem vado, et cui hucusque per septem annos obsecundavi, si me suscepitis, prosperum vobis ventum a Domino suo, virtute orationum, impetrare poterit.' Quibus auditis, navim terrae approximant, ipsumque ad eos in eam invitant. Qui statim, rate ascensa, 'In nomine Omnipotentis,' ait, 'cui sanctus Columba inculpabiliter servit, tensis rudentibus levate velum.' Quo facto, continuo contraria venti flamina in secunda vertuntur, prosperaque usque ad Britanniam plenis successit navigatio velis. Libranusque, postquam ad loca perventum est Britannica, illam deserens navim, et

14. claire Colg. Boll. *litera d, quae in cod. A. formam cl prae se fert, minus observata.*

nautis benedicens, ad sanctum devenit Columbam in Ioua commorantem insula. Qui videlicet vir beatus, gaudenter suscipiens eum, omnia quae de eo in itinere acta sunt, nullo alio intimante, plene narravit, et de domino, et uxoris eius salubri consilio, quomodo eiusdem suasu liberatus est; de fratribus quoque; de morte patris, et eius, finita septimana, sepultione; de matre, et de fratris opportuna iunioris subventionem; de his quae in regressu acta sunt; de vento contrario, et secundo; de verbis nautarum qui primo eum suscipere recusarunt, de promissione prosperi flatus; et de prospera, eo suscepto in navi, venti conversione. Quid plura? Omnia, quae Sanctus adimplenda prophetavit, expleta enarravit. Post haec verba viator pretium suae quod a Sancto accepit redemptionis assignavit. Cui Sanctus eadem hora vocabulum indidit, inquires, 'Tu Libranus vocaberis eo quod sis liber.' Qui videlicet Libran iisdem in diebus votum monachicum devotus vovit. Et cum a sancto viro ad monasterium, in quo prius septem annis poenitens Domino servivit, remitteretur, haec ab eo prophetica de se prolata accepit verba valedicente, 'Vita vives longa, et in bona senectute vitam terminabis praesentem. Attamen non in Britannia, sed in Scotia, resurges.' Quod verbum audiens, flexis genibus, amare flevit. Quem Sanctus valde maestum videns, consolari coepit dicens, 'Surge, et noles tristificari. In uno meorum morieris monasteriorum, et cum electis erit pars tua meis in regno monachis; cum quibus in resurrectionem vitae de somno mortis evigilabis.' Qui, a Sancto accepta non mediocri consolatione, valde laetatus est, et Sancti benedictione ditatus, in pace perrexit. Quae Sancti de eodem viro verax postea est adimpleta prophetatio. Nam, cum per multos annales cyclos in monasterio Campi Lunge post sancti Columbae de mundo transitum, obedienter Domino deserviret, monachus, pro quadam monasteriali utilitate ad Scotiam missus, valde senex, statim ut de navi descendit, pergens per Campum Breg, ad monasterium devenit Roborei Campi; ibidemque, hospes receptus hospitio, quadam molestus infirmitate, septima aegrotationis die in pace ad Dominum perrexit, et inter sancti Columbae electos humatus est monachos, secundum eius vaticinium, in vitam resurrecturus aeternam. Has de Librano Arundineti sancti veridicas Columbae vaticinationes scripsisse sufficiat. Qui videlicet Libranus ideo 'Arundineti' est vocitatus, quia in arundineto multis annis arundines colligendo laboraverat.



*Cap. XL. DE QUADAM MULIERCULA MAGNAS ET VALDE DIFFICILIORES PARTURITIONIS, UT EVAE FILIA, TORTIONES PASSA.*

*The relief of a woman in child-birth.* Quadam die, Sanctus in Ioua commanens insula, a lectione surgit, et subridens dicit, 'Nunc ad oratorium mihi properandum, ut pro quadam misellula Dominum deprecem femina, quae nunc in Hibernia nomen huius inclamitans commemorat Columbae, in magnis parturitionis difficillimae torta punctionibus, et ideo per me a Domino de angustia absolutionem dari sibi sperat, quia et mihi est cognationalis, de meae matris parentela genitorem habens progenitum.' Haec dicens Sanctus, illius mulierculae motus miseratione, ad ecclesiam currit, flexisque genibus pro ea Christum de homine natum exorat. Et post precationem oratorium egressus, ad fratres profatur occurrentes, inquiens, 'Nunc propitius Dominus Jesus, de muliere progenitus, opportune miserae subveniens, eam de angustiis liberavit, et prospere prolem peperit, nec hac morietur vice.' Eadem hora, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, misella femina, nomen eius invocans, absoluta salutem recuperavit. Ita ab aliquibus postea de Scotia, et de eadem regione ubi mulier inhabitabat, transmeantibus, intimatum est.

*Cap. XLI. DE QUODAM LUGNEO GUBERNETA, COGNOMENTO TUDIDA, QUEM SUA CONIUX ODIO HABUERAT DEFORMEM, QUI IN RECHREA COMMORABATUR INSULA.*

*A wife reconciled to her husband.* Alio in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Rechrea hospitaretur insula, quidam plebeius ad eum veniens, de sua querebatur uxore, quae, ut ipse dicebat, odio habens, eum ad maritalem nullo modo admittebat concubitus accedere. Quibus auditis, Sanctus, maritam advocans, in quantum potuit, eam hac de causa corripere coepit, inquiens, 'Quare, mulier, tuam a te carnem abdicare conaris, Domino dicente, **Erunt duo in carne una**? itaque caro tui coniugis tua caro est.' Quae respondens, 'Omnia,' inquit, 'quaecunque mihi praeceperis, sum parata, quamlibet sint valde laboriosa, adimplere, excepto uno, ut me nullo compellas modo in uno lecto dormire cum Lugneo. Omnem domus curam exercere non recuso, aut, si iubeas, etiam maria transire, et in aliquo puellarum monasterio permanere.' Sanctus tum ait, 'Non potest recte fieri quod dicis, nam adhuc viro vivente alligata es a lege viri. Quos enim Deus licite coniunxit nefas est separari.' Et, his

dictis, consequenter intulit, 'Hac in die tres, hoc est, ego et maritus, cum coniuge, ieiunantes Dominum precemur.' Illa dehinc, 'Scio,' ait, 'quia tibi impossibile non erit ut ea quae vel difficilia, vel etiam impossibilia videntur, a Deo impetrata donentur.' Quid plura? Marita eadem<sup>5</sup> die cum Sancto ieiunare consentit, et maritus similiter: nocteque subsequente Sanctus insomnis pro eis deprecatus est; posteraque die Sanctus maritam praesente sic compellat marito, 'O femina, si, ut hesternam dicebas die, parata hodie es ad feminarum emigrare monasteriolum?'<sup>10</sup> Illa, 'Nunc,' inquit, 'cognovi quia tua Deo de me est audita oratio; nam quem heri oderam, hodie amo; cor enim meum hac nocte praeterita, quomodo ignoro, in me immutatum est de odio in amorem.' Quid moramur? ab eadem die usque ad diem obitus, anima eiusdem maritae<sup>15</sup> indissociabiliter in amore conglutinata est mariti, ut illa maritalis concubitus debita, quae prius reddere renuebat, nullo modo deinceps recusaret.

*Cap. XLII. DE NAVIGATIONE CORMACI NEPOTIS LETHANI  
PROPHETATIO BEATI VIRI.*

20

*Prediction respecting Cormac's second voyage.* Alio in tempore Cormacus, Christi miles, de quo in primo huius opusculi libello, breviter aliqua commemoravimus pauca, etiam secunda vice conatus est eremum in oceano quaerere. Qui postquam a terris per infinitum oceanum plenis enavi-<sup>25</sup> gavit velis, iisdem diebus sanctus Columba, cum ultra Dorsum moraretur Britanniae, Brudeo regi, praesente Orcadam regulo, commendavit, dicens, 'Aliqui ex nostris nuper emigraverunt, desertum in pelago intransmeabili invenire optantes; qui si forte post longos circuitus Orca-<sup>30</sup> das devenerint insulas, huic regulo, cuius obsides in manu tua sunt, diligenter commenda, ne aliquid adversi intra terminos eius contra eos fiat.' Hoc vero Sanctus ita dicebat, quia in spiritu praecognovit quod post aliquot menses idem Cormacus esset ad Orcadas venturus. Quod ita<sup>35</sup> postea evenit; et propter supradictam sancti viri commendationem, de morte in Orcadibus liberatus est vicina. Post aliquantum paucorum intervallum mensium cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, quadam die coram eo eiusdem Cormaci mentio ab aliquibus subito oboritur sermocinan-<sup>40</sup> tibus, et taliter dicentibus, 'Quomodo Cormaci navigatio, prosperane an non, provenit, adhuc nescitur.' Quo audito

verbo, Sanctus hac profatur voce, dicens, 'Cormacum, de quo nunc loquimini, hodie mox pervenientem videbitis.' Et post quasi unius horae interventum, mirum dictu, et ecce inopinato Cormacus superveniens, oratorium cum  
 5 omnium admiratione et gratiarum ingreditur actione. Et quia de huius Cormaci secunda navigatione beati prophetationem breviter intulerimus viri, nunc et de tertia aequae propheticae eius scientiae aliqua describenda sunt verba.

*Prophetic knowledge regarding Cormac's third voyage.*

10 Cum idem Cormacus tertia in oceano mari fatigaretur vice, prope usque ad mortem periclitari coepit. Nam cum eius navis a terris per quatuordecim aestei temporis dies, totidemque noctes, plenis velis, austro flante vento, ad septentrionalis plagam caeli directo excurreret cursu, eiusmodi  
 15 navigatio ultra humani excursus modum, et irremeabilis videbatur. Unde contigit, ut post decimam eiusdem quarti et decimi horam diei, quidam paene insustentabiles undique et valde formidabiles consurgerent terrores; quaedam quippe usque in id temporis invisae, mare obtegentes  
 20 occurrerant tetrae et infestae nimis bestiolae, quae horribili impetu carinam et latera, puppimque et proram ita forti feriebant percussura, ut pelliceum tectum navis penetrales putarentur penetrare posse. Quae, ut hi qui inerant  
 25 ibidem postea narrarunt, prope magnitudinem ranarum, aculeis permolestae, non tamen volatiles sed natatiles, erant; sed et remorum infestabant palmulas. Quibus visis, inter cetera monstra quae non huius est temporis narrare, Cormacus cum nautis comitibus, valde turbati et pertimescentes, Deum, qui est in angustiis pius et opportunus auxiliator, illacrymati precantur. Eadem hora et sanctus noster  
 30 Columba, quamlibet longe absens corpore, spiritu tamen praesens, in navi cum Cormaco erat. Unde, eodem momento, personante signo, fratres ad oratorium convocans, et ecclesiam intrans, astantibus sic, more sibi consueto,  
 35 prophetizans profatur, dicens, 'Fratres, tota intentione pro Cormaco orate, qui nunc humanae discursionis limitem, immoderate navigando, excessit, nunc quasdam monstruosas, ante non visas, et paene indicibiles, patitur horrificas perturbationes. Itaque nostris commembribus in periculo in-  
 40 tolerabili constitutis mente compati debemus fratribus, et Dominum exorare cum eis. Ecce enim nunc Cormacus cum suis nautis, faciem lacrymis ubertim irrigans, Christum intentius precatur; et nos ipsum orando adiuvemus, ut

Austrum flantem ventum usque hodie per quatuordecim dies, nostri miseratus, in Aquilonem convertat; qui videlicet Aquiloneus ventus navem Cormaci de periculis retrahat.' Et haec dicens, flebili cum voce, flexis genibus ante altarium, omnipotentiam Dei ventorum et cunctarum gubernatricem precatur rerum. Et post orationem cito surgit, et abstergens lacrymas, gaudenter grates Deo agit, dicens, 'Nunc, fratres, nostris congratulemur, pro quibus oramus, caris: quia Dominus Austrum nunc in Aquilonarem convertet flatum nostros de periculis commembres retrahentem, quos huc ad nos iterum reducet.' Et continuo cum eius voce Auster cessavit ventus, et inspiravit Aquiloneus per multos post dies, et navis Cormaci ad terras redacta est. Et pervenit Cormacus ad sanctum Columbam, et se, donante Deo, facie in faciem, cum ingenti omnium admiratione vident et non mediocri laetatione. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir beatus, qui talem propheticam habens scientiam, ventis et oceano, Christi invocato nomine, potuit imperare.

Cap. XLIII. DE VENERABILIS VIRI IN CURRU EVECTIONE  
ABSQUE CURRILIIUM OBICUM COMMUNITIONE.

*Protection of a car with insecure wheels.* Alio in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot dies Sanctus conversaretur, aliquibus ecclesiasticis utilitatibus coactus, currum ab eo prius benedictum ascendit iunctum; sed non insertis primo, qua negligentia accedente nescitur, necessariis obicibus per axionum extrema foramina. Erat autem eadem diecula Columbanus filius Echudi, vir sanctus, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotica vocitatur lingua Snamluthir, qui operam aurigae in eodem curriculo cum sancto exercebat Columba. Fuit itaque talis eiusdem agitatio diei per longa viarum spatia sine ulla rotarum humerulorumque separatione sive labefactione, nulla, ut supra dictum est, obicum retentione vel communitiione retinente. Sed sola diali sic venerando praestante gratia viro, ut currus cui insederat salubriter, absque ulla impeditiione, recta incederet orbita.

Hucusque de virtutum miraculis quae per praedicabilem virum, in praesenti conversantem vita, divina operata est omnipotentia, scripsisse sufficiat. Nunc etiam quaedam de his quae post eius de carne transitum ei a Domino donata comprobantur, pauca sunt commemoranda.

*Cap. XLIV. DE PLUVIA POST ALIQUOT SICCITATIS MENSES BEATI OB HONOREM VIRI SUPER SITIENTEM, DOMINO DONANTE, TERRAM EFFUSA.*

*Rain after long drought.* Ante annos namque ferme  
 5 quatuordecim, in his torpentibus terris valde **grandis**  
**verno tempore facta est siccitas** iugis et dura, in tantum  
 ut illa Domini in Levitico libro transgressoribus coaptata  
 populis comminatio videretur imminere, qua dicit, **Dabo**  
**caelum vobis desuper sicut ferrum, et terram aeneam**  
 10 **Consumetur incassum labor vester; nec proferet terra**  
**germen, nec arbores poma praebebunt;** et cetera.  
 Nos itaque haec legentes, et **imminentem plagam per-**  
**timescentes,** hoc inito consilio fieri consiliati sumus, ut  
 aliqui ex nostris senioribus nuper aratum et seminatum  
 15 campum cum sancti Columbae candida circumirent tunica,  
 et **libris stylo ipsius descriptis;** levarentque **in aere,** et  
 excuterent eandem **per ter tunicam, qua etiam hora exitus**  
 eius de carne **indutus erat;** et eius aperirent libros, et  
 20 **legerent** in Colliculo Angelorum, ubi aliquando caelestis  
 patriae cives ad beati viri conductum visi sunt descendere.  
**Quae** postquam **omnia iuxta initum sunt peracta** con-  
 silium, **mirum dictu, eadem die** caelum, in praeteritis  
 mensibus, Martio videlicet et Aprili, nudatum nubibus,  
 mira sub celeritate ipsis de ponto ascendentibus illico  
 25 opertum est, et **pluvia facta est magna,** die noctuque de-  
 scendens; et **sitiens prius terra,** satis satiata, opportune  
 germina produxit sua, et valde **laetas eodem anno segetes.**  
 Unius itaque beati commemoratio nominis viri in tunica et  
 libris commemorata multis regionibus eadem vice et populis  
 30 salubri subvenit opportunitate.

*Cap. XLV. DE VENTURUM FLATIBUS CONTRARIIS VENERABILIS VIRI VIRTUTE ORATIONUM IN SECUNDOS CONVERSIS VENTOS.*

*The wind changed on three occasions.* Praeteritorum,  
 35 nobis, quae non vidimus, talium miraculorum praesentia  
 quae ipsi perspeximus, fidem indubitanter confirmant.  
 Ventorum namque flamina contrariorum tribus nos ipsi  
 vicibus in secunda vidimus conversa. Prima vice cum  
 dolatae per terram pineae et roboreae traherentur longae

3. miraculum quod nunc domino propitio describere incipimus nostris  
 temporibus factum propriis inspeximus oculis *add. B.* 5. **Cummian,**  
**XXVI.**

naves, et magnae navium pariter materiae eveherentur domus; beati viri vestimenta et libros, into consilio, super altare, cum psalmis et ieiunatione, et eius nominis invocatione, posuimus, ut a Domino ventorum prosperitatem nobis profuturam impetraret. Quod ita eidem sancto viro, <sup>5</sup> Deo donante, factum est: nam ea die qua nostri nautae, omnibus praeparatis, supra memoratarum ligna materiarum proposuere scaphis per mare et curucis trahere, venti, praeteritis contrarii diebus, subito in secundos conversi sunt. Tum deinde per longas et obliquas vias tota die <sup>10</sup> prosperis flatibus, Deo propitio, famulantibus, et plenis sine ulla retardatione velis, ad Iouam insulam omnis illa navalis emigratio prospere pervenit.

Secunda vero vice, cum, post aliquantos intervenientes annos, aliae nobiscum roboreae ab ostio fluminis Sale, <sup>15</sup> duodecim curucis congregatis, materiae ad nostrum renovandum traherentur monasterium, alio die tranquillo nautis mare palmulis verrentibus, subito nobis contrarius insurgit Favonius, qui et Zephyrus ventus, in proximam tum declinamus insulam, quae Scotice vocitatur Airthrago, <sup>20</sup> in ea portum ad manendum quaerentes. Sed inter haec de illa importuna venti contrarietate querimur, et quodammodo quasi accusare nostrum Columbam coepimus, dicentes, 'Placetne tibi, Sancte, haec nobis adversa retardatio? hucusque a te, Deo propitio, aliquod nostrorum <sup>25</sup> laborum praestari speravimus consolatorium adiumentum, te videlicet aestimantes alicuius esse grandis apud Deum honoris.' His dictis, post modicum, quasi unius momenti, intervallum, mirum dictu, ecce Favonius ventus cessat contrarius, Vulturusque flat, dicto citius, secundus. Iussi <sup>30</sup> tum nautae antennas, crucis instar, et vela protensis sublevant rudentibus, prosperisque et lenibus flabris eadem die nostram appetentes insulam, sine ulla laboratione, cum illis omnibus qui navibus inerant nostris cooperatoribus, in lignorum evectione gaudentes, devehimur. Non medio- <sup>35</sup> criter, quamlibet levis, illa querula nobis sancti accusatio viri profuit. Quantique et qualis est apud Dominum meriti Sanctus apparet, quem in ventorum ipse tam celeri conversione audierat.

Tertia proinde vice, cum in aesteo tempore, post Hiber- <sup>40</sup> niensis synodi conductum, in plebe Generis Loerni per aliquot, venti contrarietate, retardaremur dies, ad Saineam devenimus insulam; ibidemque demoratos festiva sancti

Columbae nox et solemnis dies nos invenit valde tristificatos, videlicet desiderantes eandem diem in Ioua facere laetificam insula. Unde, sicut prius alia querebamur vice, dicentes, 'Placetne tibi, Sancte, crastinam tuae festivitatis  
 5 inter plebeios et non in tua ecclesia transigere diem? facile tibi est talis in exordio diei a Domino impetrare ut contrarii in secundos vertantur venti, et in tua celebremus ecclesia tui natalis missarum solennia.' Post eandem transactam noctem diluculo mane consurgimus, et videntes  
 10 cessasse contrarios flatus, conscensis navibus, nullo flante vento, in mare progredimur, et ecce statim post nos Auster cardinalis, qui et Notus, inflat. Tum proinde ovantes nautae vela subrigunt: sicque ea die talis, sine labore, nostra tam festina navigatio, et tam prospera, beato viro  
 15 donante Deo, fuit, ut, sicuti prius exoptavimus, post horam diei tertiam ad Iouae portum pervenientes insulae, postea manuum et pedum peracta lavatione, hora sexta ecclesiam cum fratribus intrantes, sacra missarum solennia pariter celebraremus, in festo die inquam natalis sanctorum  
 20 Columbae et Baithenei: cuius diluculo, ut supradictum est, de Sainea insula, longius sita, emigravimus. Huius ergo praemissae narrationis testes, non bini tantum vel terni. secundum legem, sed centeni et amplius adhuc exstant.

*Cap. XLVI. DE MORTALITATE.*

25 *The great plague.* Et hoc etiam, ut aestimo, non inter minora virtutum miracula connumerandum videtur de mortalitate, quae nostris temporibus terrarum orbem bis ex parte vastaverat maiore. Nam, ut de ceteris taceam latioribus Europae regionibus, hoc est, Italia et ipsa Romana  
 30 civitate, et Cisalpinis Galliarum provinciis, Hispanis quoque Pyrenaei montis interiectu disternatis, oceani insulae per totum, videlicet Scotia et Britannia, binis vicibus vastatae sunt dira pestilentia, exceptis duobus populis, hoc est, Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britanniae, inter quos utrosque  
 35 Dorsi montes Britannici disternant. Et, quamvis utrorumque populorum non desint grandia peccata, quibus plerumque ad iracundiam aeternus provocatur iudex, utrisque tamen hucusque, patienter ferens, ipse pepercit. Cui alii itaque haec tribuitur gratia a Deo collata, nisi sancto  
 40 Columbae, cuius monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque ad praesens tempus valde sunt honorificata? Sed hoc quod nunc dicturi sumus, ut

arbitramur, non sine gemitu audiendum est, quia sunt plerique in utrisque populis valde stolidi, qui se Sanctorum orationibus a morbis defensos nescientes, ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur. Nos vero Deo agimus crebras grates, qui nos et in his nostris insulis, orante pro nobis 5 venerabili patrono, a mortalitatum invasionibus defendit; et in Saxonia, regem Aldfridum visitantes amicum adhuc non cessante pestilentia, et multos hinc inde vicos devastante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in prima post bellum Ecfridi visitatione, et in secunda, interiectis duobus annis, 10 in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit, ut ne unus etiam de nostris comitibus moreretur, nec aliquis ex eis aliquo molestaretur morbo.

Hic secundus de virtutum miraculis finiendus est liber: in quo animadvertere lector debet, quod, etiam de com- 15 pertis, in eo multa propter legentium evitandum praetermissa sint fastidium.

#### FINITUR SECUNDUS LIBER.

17. ΦINITVP CHKVNDVC AIBEP *literis Graecis uncialibus* A. explicit liber secundus B C. F. S.



## INCIPIUNT CAPITULA TERTII LIBRI

De Angelicis Apparitionibus quae vel aliis de beato viro,  
vel eidem de aliis, revelatae sunt. (*Praefatio.*)

De angelo Domini qui eius genitrici in somnis post ipsius  
5 in utero conceptionem apparuit. (I.)

De radio luminoso super dormientis ipsius pueri faciem  
viso. (II.)

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Bren-  
denus, beati comites viri, per campum viderat com-  
10 meantes. (III.)

De angelo Domini quem sanctus Fennio beati viri socium  
itineris vidit. (IV.)

De angelo Domini, qui ad sanctum Columbam in Hinba  
commorantem insula per visum apparuit, missus ut  
15 Aidanum in regem ordinaret. (V.)

De angelorum apparitione alicuius Britonis animam ad  
caelum vehentium. (VI.)

De angelorum revelata eidem sancto viro visione, qui ani-  
mam alicuius Diormitii ad caelum ducebant. (VII.)

20 De angelorum contra daemones forti belligeratione, Sancto  
in eodem bello opportune subvenientium. (VIII.)

De angelorum apparitione quos vir Dei viderat alicuius  
animam nomine Columbi, fabri ferrarii, Coilrigini cog-  
nomento, ad caelos evehere. (IX.)

25 De angelorum simili visione, quos vir beatus aspexerat  
alicuius bene moratae feminae animam ad caelum  
ferre. (X.)

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Columba  
obvios in transitu viderat beati Brendeni animae, illius  
30 monasterii fundatoris quod Scottice Birra nuncupatur.  
(XI.)

De angelorum visione sanctorum, qui sancti Columbani  
episcopi, Moculoigse, animam ad caelum evexerant.  
(XII.)

35 De angelorum apparitione qui obviam animabus sancti  
monachorum Comgelli descenderant. XIII.)

- De angelorum manifestatione alicuius Emchathi animae obviantium. (xiv.)
- De angelo Domini, qui alicui fratri lapso de monasterii culmine rotundi in Roboreti Campo opportune tam cito subvenerat. (xv.) 5
- De angelorum multitudine sanctorum visa ad beati conditum viri de caelo descendentium. (xvi.)
- De columna luminosa sancti viri de vertice ardere visa. (xvii.)
- De Spiritus Sancti descensione sive visitatione quae in eadem insula, tribus continuis diebus, totidemque noctibus, super venerabilem mansit virum. (xviii.) 10
- De angelicae lucis claritudine, quam Virgnous, bonae indolis iuvenis, qui post, Deo auctore, huic praefuit ecclesiae, cui ego, indignus licet, deservio, super sanctum Columbam in ecclesia, fratribus hiemali nocte in cubiculis quiescentibus, descendere viderat. (xix.) 15
- De alia prope simili celsae claritudinis visione. (xx.)
- De alia parili divinae lucis apparitione. (xxi.)
- De alia angelorum sancto manifestata viro apparitione; quos sanctae eius animae obviare incipientes quasi mox de corpore viderat migraturae. (xxii.) 20
- De transitu ad Dominum sancti nostri patroni Columbae. (xxiii.)

# HIC TERTIUS LIBER ORDITUR, DE ANGELICIS VISIONIBUS

## PRAEFATIO

*Summary of the entire work.* In Primo ex his tribus  
5 libellis libro, ut superius commemoratum est, de Prophe-  
ticis Revelationibus quaedam breviter succincteque, Domino  
navante, descripta sunt. In Secundo superiore, de Virtu-  
tum Miraculis, quae per beatum declarata sunt virum, et  
quae, ut saepe dictum est, plerumque prophetationis comi-  
10 tatur gratia. In hoc vero Tertio, de Angelicis Apparitioni-  
bus, quae vel aliis de beato viro, vel ipsi de aliis, revelatae  
sunt; et de his, quae utroque, quamlibet disparili modo,  
hoc est, ipsi proprie et plenius, aliis vero improprie, et ex  
quadam parte, sunt manifestatae, hoc est extrinsecus et  
15 explorative, in iisdem tamen, vel angelorum vel caelestis  
visionibus lucis: quae utique talium discrepantiae visionum  
suis caraxatae locis inferius clarebunt. Sed nunc, ut a pri-  
mordiis beati nativitatis viri easdem describere angelicas  
apparitiones incipiamus:

20

### Cap. I

*An angel appears to the mother of St. Columba.* Angelus  
Domini in somnis genitrici venerabilis viri quadam nocte  
inter conceptum eius et partum apparuit, eique quasi  
quoddam mirae pulchritudinis peplum adsistens detulit;  
25 in quo veluti universorum decorosi colores florum de-  
picti videbantur; quodque post aliquod breve interval-  
lum eius de manibus repossens abstulit; elevansque et  
expandens in aere dimisit vacuo. Illa vero de illo tristi-  
ficata sublato, sic ad illum venerandi habitus virum, 'Cur  
30 a me,' ait, 'hoc laetificum tam cito abstrahis pallium?'  
Ille consequenter, 'Idcirco,' inquit, 'quia hoc sagum  
alicuius est tam magnifici honoris, apud te diutius reti-  
nere non poteris.' His dictis, supra memoratum peplum

1-2. incipit textus tertii libri de angelicis visionibus B. incipit liber  
tertius de angelicis apparitionibus et de transitu sancti columbae C. D. F. S.  
21. **Cummian, I.**

mulier paulatim a se elongari volando videbat, camporumque latitudinem in maius crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus maiore sui mensura superare; vocemque huiuscemodi subsecutam audierat, 'Mulier, noles tristificari, viro enim cui matrimoniali es iuncta foedere talem filium editura es floridum, qui quasi unus prophetarum Dei inter ipsos connumerabitur, innumerabiliumque animarum dux ad caelestem a Deo patriam est praedestinatus.' In hac audita voce mulier expergiscitur.

10

*Cap. II. DE RADIO LUMINOSO SUPER DORMIENTIS IPSIUS PUERI FACIEM VISO.*

*A heavenly light on St. Columba when an infant.* Alia in nocte eiusdem beati pueri nutritor, spectabilis vitae vir, presbyter Cruithnechanus, post missam ab ecclesia ad hospitium revertens, totam invenit domum suam clara irradiatam luce; globum quippe igneum super pueruli dormientis faciem stantem vidit. Quo viso, statim intremuit, et prostrato in terram vultu valde miratus, Spiritus Sancti gratiam super suum intellexit alumnum caelitus effusam.

*Cap. III. DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS SANCTUS BRENDENUS BEATI COMITES VIRI PER CAMPUM VIDERAT COMMEANTES.*

*The vision of St. Brendan at Teltown.* Post namque multorum intervalla temporum, cum a quodam synodo pro quibusdam veniabilibus et tam excusabilibus causis, non recte, ut post in fine claruit, sanctus excommunicaretur Columba, ad eandem contra ipsum collectam venit congregationem. Quem cum eminus appropinquantem sanctus vidisset Brendenus, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotice Birra nuncupatur, citius surgit, et inclinata facie, eum veneratus exosculatur. Quem cum aliqui illius seniores coetus seorsim ceteris redarguerent semotis, dicentes, 'Quare coram excommunicato surgere et eum exosculari non renueris?' taliter ad eos inquires, 'Si vos,' ait, 'videritis ea quae mihi Dominus hac in die de hoc suo, quem dehonoratis, electo manifestare non dedignatus est, nunquam excommunicassetis quem Deus non solum, secundum vestram

non rectam sententiam, nullo excommunicat modo, sed etiam magis ac magis magnificat.' Illi e contra, 'Quomodo,' aiunt, 'ut dicis, ipsum glorificat Deus, quem nos non sine causa excommunicavimus, scire cupimus.' 'Ignicomam et valde  
 5 luminosam,' ait Brendenus, 'columnam vidi eundem quem vos despicitis antecedentem Dei hominem. Angelos quoque sanctos per campum eius itineris comites. Hunc itaque spernere non audeo quem populorum ducem ad vitam a Deo praeordinatum video.' His ab eo dictis, non tantum,  
 10 ultra Sanctum excommunicare non ausi, cessarunt, sed etiam valde venerati honorarunt. Hoc famen factum est hi Teilte.

*Cap. IV. DE ANGELO DOMINI QUEM SANCTUS FINNIO BEATI VIRI SOCIUM ITINERIS VIDIT.*

15 *The vision of St. Finnio.* Alio in tempore vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Finnionem, suum videlicet magistrum, iuvenis senem, adiit; quem cum sanctus Finnio ad se appropinquantem vidisset, angelum Domini pariter eius comitem itineris vidit: et, ut nobis ab expertis tradi-  
 20 tur, quibusdam astantibus intimavit fratribus, inquiens, 'Ecce nunc videatis sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui commeatus meruit habere socium angelum caelicolam.' Iisdem diebus Sanctus cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit.

25 *Cap. V. DE ANGELO DOMINI QUI AD SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN HINBA COMMORANTEM INSULA PER VISUM APPARUIT, MISSUS UT AIDANUM IN REGEM ORDINARET.*

*An angel instructs St. Columba to ordain Aidan king.* Alio in tempore, cum vir praedicabilis in Hinba commoratur insula, quadam nocte in ecstasi mentis angelum  
 30 Domini ad se missum vidit, qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum: quem cum vir venerandus de manu angeli accepisset, ab eo iussus, legere coepit. Qui cum secundum quod ei in libro erat commendatum  
 35 Aidanum in regem ordinare recusaret, quia magis Iogenanum fratrem eius diligeret, subito angelus, extendens manum, Sanctum percussit flagello, cuius livorosum in eius latere vestigium omnibus suae diebus permansit vitae. Hocque intulit verbum, 'Pro certo scias,' in-  
 40 quiens, 'quia ad te a Deo missus sum cum vitreo libro, ut

15. Cumman, III.

23. Cumman, IV.

29. Cumman, V.

iuxta verba quae in eo legisti, **Aidanum in regnum ordines. Quod si obsecundare huic nolueris iussioni, percutiam te iterato.** Hic itaque angelus Domini, cum per tres continuas noctes, eundem in manu vitreum habens codicem, apparuisset, eademque Domini iussa de regis eiusdem ordinatione commendasset, Sanctus, verbo obsecutus Domini, ad Iouam transnavigavit insulam, ibidemque Aidanum, iisdem adventantem diebus, in regem, sicut erat iussus, ordinavit. Et inter ordinationis verba, de filiis et nepotibus pronepotibusque eius futura prophetizavit: imponensque manum super caput eius, ordinans benedixit.

Cummeneus Albus, in libro quem de virtutibus sancti Columbae scripsit, sic dixit quod sanctus Columba de Aidano et de posteris eius, et de regno suo, prophetare coepit, dicens, **'Indubitanter crede, O Aidane, quoniam nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere, donec prius fraudulentiam agas in me et in posteros meos.** Propterea ergo tu filiis commenda ut et ipsi filiis et nepotibus et posteris suis commendent, ne per consilia mala eorum scptrum regni huius de manibus suis perdant. In quocunque enim tempore adversum me aut adversus cognatos meos qui sunt in Hibernia fecerint, flagellum, quod causa tui ab angelo sustinui, per manum Dei super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur, et cor virorum auferetur ab eis et inimici eorum vehementer super eos confortabuntur.'

*The fulfilment.* Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est, in bello Roth, Domnail Brecco, nepote Aidani, sine causa vastante provinciam Domnill nepotis Ainmuireg. Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis: quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit.

**Cap. VI. DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE ALICUIUS BEATI BRITONIS ANIMAM AD CAELUM VEHEMENTIUM.**

*St. Columba sees a soul taken to heaven.* Alio in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, quidam de suis monachis, Brito, bonis actibus intentus, molestia correptus corporis, ad extrema perductus est. Quem cum vir venerandus in hora sui visitaret exitus, paulisper ad lectulum eius assistens, et ei benedicens, ocius domum egreditur, nolens videre morientem. Qui eodem momento post sancti de domu secessum viri praesentem

finiit vitam. Tum **vir** praedicabilis, in plateola sui **deambulans monasterii**, porrectis ad caelum oculis, diutius **valde obstupescens, admirabatur**. Quidam vero frater, Aidanus nomine, filius Libir, bonae indolis et religiosus  
 5 homo, qui solus de fratribus eadem adfuit hora, flexis genibus, rogare coepit ut Sanctus eidem tantae admirationis causam intimaret. **Cui Sanctus, 'Nunc sanctos angelos in aere contra adversarias potestates belligerare vidi; Christoque agonothetae gratias ago quia victores angeli**  
 10 **animam huius peregrini**, qui primus apud nos in hac insula mortuus est, ad caelestis patriae gaudia evexerunt. **Sed hoc quaeso sacramentum nemini in vita mea reveles.'**

*Cap. VII. DE ANGELORUM REVELATA EIDEM SANCTO VIRO VISIONE, QUI ANIMAM ALICUIUS DIORMITI AD CAELUM DUCERANT.*

*A similar vision.* Alio in tempore quidam Hiberniensis peregrinus ad Sanctum perveniens, per aliquot apud eum menses in Ioua commanebat insula. Cui vir beatus alia die, 'Nunc,' ait, 'quidam de provincialibus tuis clericis ad  
 20 caelum ab angelis portatur, cuius adhuc ignoro nomen.' Frater vero, hoc audiens, coepit secum de provincia perscrutari Anteriorum qui Scotice Indairthir nuncupantur, et de illius beati hominis vocabulo; hocque consequenter intulit verbum, inquires, 'Alium Christi scio militem qui  
 25 sibi in eodem territorio, in quo et ego commanebam, monasteriolum construxit, nomine Diormitium.' Cui Sanctus ait, 'Ipse est de quo dicis, qui nunc ab angelis Dei in paradisum deductus est.' Sed hoc etiam non negligenter adnotandum est, quod idem vir venerabilis multa sibi a  
 30 Deo arcana, ab aliis celata, sacramenta, nullo modo in hominum notitiam prodi passus sit, duabus, ut ipse aliquando paucis intimaverat fratribus, causis existentibus: hoc est, ut iactantiam devitaret, et ad semetipsum interrogandum, insustentabiles turbas de se aliqua interrogare  
 35 volentes, divulgata revelationum fama, non invitaret.

*Cap. VIII. DE ANGELORUM CONTRA DAEMONES FORTI BELLIGATIONE SANCTO IN EODEM BELLO OPPORTUNE SUBVENIENTIUM.*

*A conflict between good and evil angels.* Alia die vir sanctus, in Ioua conversans insula, **remotiorem ab hominibus**  
 40

40. Cummian, IX.

locum, aptumque ad orationem, in saltibus quaesivit: ibidemque cum orare coepisset, subito, ut ipse postea paucis intimaverat fratribus, videt contra se nigerrimam daemonum cum ferreis verubus aciem proeliari: qui, sicuti sancto viro per Spiritum revelatum erat, monas-  
 terium eius invadere, et multos ex fratribus iisdem volebant iugulare sudibus. Ipse vero contra tales aemulos unus homo innumeros, accepta Pauli armatura apostoli, forti conflictu dimicabat. Et ita ex maiore diei parte utrinque dimicatum est, nec innumerabiles unum  
 vincere poterant, nec eos unus de sua valebat insula repellere; donec angeli Dei, ut Sanctus post quibusdam non multis retulerat, in adminiculum affuere; quorum timore proturbati daemones loco cessere. Eademque die, Sanctus ad monasterium post daemoniorum reversus de sua insula  
 effugationem, hoc de eisdem turmis hostilibus verbum profatur, inquires, 'Illi exitiabiles aemuli qui hac die de huius terrulae, Deo propitio, regione, angelis nobis subvenientibus, ad Ethicam effugati sunt terram, ibidemque saevi invasores fratrum monasteria invadent, et pestilentes in-  
 ferent morbos, quorum molestia infestati, multi moriuntur.' Quod iisdem diebus, iuxta beati praescientiam viri, ita et factum est. Et post, interveniente biduo, ei revelante Spiritu, 'Bene,' ait, 'Baitheneus, auxiliante Deo, dispensavit ut eiusdem ecclesiae cui, Deo auctore, praeest, in  
 Campo Lunge, ieiuniis et orationibus collectio a daemonum defendatur invasione: ubi nemo, excepto uno qui mortuus est, hac vice morietur.' Quod ita, iuxta vaticinium eius, expletum est. Nam cum multi in ceteris eiusdem insulae monasteriis eodem morbo morerentur, nemo,  
 nisi unus de quo Sanctus dixit, apud Baitheneum in sua est mortuus congregatione.

Cap. IX. DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE QUOS VIR DEI VIDERAT ALICUIUS ANIMAM, NOMINE COLUMBI, FABRI FERRARI, COILRIGINI COGNOMENTO, AD CAELOS EVEHERE.

*The soul of a blacksmith carried to heaven.* Quidam faber ferrarius in mediterranea Scotiae habitabat parte, elemosynarum operibus satis intentus, et ceteris iustitiae actibus plenus. Hic, cum ad extrema in bona senectute perduceretur, supra memoratus Columbus cognominatus  
 Coilriginus, eadem hora qua de corpore eductus est,

37. media parte hybernie que vocatur midi habitabat D.



sanctus Columba in Ioua commanens insula, paucis quibusdam se circumstantibus sic profatus senioribus, 'Columbus Coilriginus,' ait, 'faber ferrarius, non incassum laboravit, qui de propria manuum laboratione suarum praemia, emax, 5 felix, comparuit aeterna. Ecce enim, nunc anima eius a sanctis vehitur angelis ad caelestis patriae gaudia. Nam quodcunque de suae artis negotiatione acquirere potuit, in egenorum eleemosynas expendit.'

*Cap. X. DE ANGELORUM SIMILI VISIONE QUOS VIR BEATUS*  
 10 *ASPEXERAT ALICUIUS BENE MORATAE FEMINAE ANIMAM AD CAELUM FERRE.*

*Also that of a good woman.* Alio itidem in tempore vir sanctus, in Ioua conversans insula, quadam die, subito oculos ad caelum dirigens, haec profatus est verba, 'Felix 15 mulier, felix bene morata, cuius animam nunc angeli Dei ad paradisum evehunt.' Erat autem quidam religiosus frater, Genereus nomine, Saxo, pistor, opus pistorium exercens, qui hoc audierat verbum ex ore Sancti prolatum. Eademque die mensis, eodem terminato anno, Sanctus 20 eidem Genereo Saxoni, 'Miram rem video,' ait; 'ecce, mulier de qua, te praesente, praeterito dixeram anno nunc mariti sui religiosi cuiusdam plebei in aere obuiat animae, et cum sanctis angelis contra aemulas pro ea belligerat potestates: quorum adminiculo, eiusdem homuncionis 25 iustitia suffragante, a daemonum belligerationibus erepta, ad aeternae refrigerationis locum anima ipsius est perducta.'

*Cap. XI. DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS*  
 30 *SANCTUS COLUMBA OEVIOS IN TRANSITU VIDERAT BEATI BRENDENI ANIMAE, ILLIUS MONASTERII FUNDATORIS QUOD SCOTICE BIRRA NUNCUPATUR.*

*Angels descend to meet the soul of St. Brendan of Birr.* Alia itidem die, dum vir venerandus in Ioua conversaretur insula, mane primo suum advocat saepe memoratum 35 ministratorem Diormitium nomine, eique praecipit, in-quiens, 'Sacra celeriter Eucharistiae ministeria praeparentur. Hodie enim natalis beati Brendeni dies.' 'Quare,' ait minister, 'taliamissarum solemniamodierna praeparari praecipis? nullus enim ad nos de Scotia

17. A. B. C. D. F. S. pictor Colg. Boll.  
 pictorium Colg. Boll.

17. A. pistorum B. C. D. F. S.  
 33. Cumman, VII.

sancti illius viri obitus pervenit nuncius.' 'Vade,' tum ait Sanctus, 'meae obsecundare iussioni debes. Hac enim nocte praeterita vidi subito apertum caelum, angelorumque choros sancti Brendeni animae obvios descendere: quorum luminosa et incomparabili claritudine ; totus eadem hora illustratus est mundi orbis.'

**Cap. XII. DE ANGELORUM VISIONE SANCTORUM QUI SANCTI COLUMBANI EPISCOPI, MOCU LOIGSE, ANIMAM AD CAELUM EVEXERANT.**

*Angels bear the soul of a bishop to Paradise.* Quadam <sup>10</sup> itidem die, dum fratres, se calceantes, mane ad diversa monasterii opera ire praepararent, Sanctus e contra ea die otiari praecipit, sacraeque oblationis obsequia praeparari, et aliquam, quasi in Dominico, prandioli adiectionem fieri. 'Meque,' ait, 'hodie, quamlibet <sup>15</sup> indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animae quae hac in nocte inter sanctos angelorum choros vecta, ultra siderea caelorum spatia ad paradisum, ascendit, sacra oportet Eucharistiae celebrare mysteria.' Et his dictis fratres obsequuntur, et, iuxta Sancti iussionem, eadem otiantur <sup>20</sup> die: praeparatisque sacris, ad ecclesiam, ministeriis, quasi die solenni albat cum Sancto pergunt. Sed forte, dum inter talia cum modulatione officia illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio, in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen, subito Sanctus ad cantores, eiusdem onomatidis ad <sup>25</sup> locum pervenientes, 'Hodie,' ait, 'pro sancto Columbano episcopo decantare debetis.' Tunc omnes qui inerant fratres intellexere quod Columbanus, episcopus Lagenensis, carus Columbae amicus, ad Dominum emigraverit. Et post alicuius temporis intervallum, aliqui de <sup>30</sup> Lagenica commeantes provincia ea nocte eundem obiisse nunciant episcopum qua Sancto ita revelatum est.

**Cap. XIII. DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE QUI OBVIAM ANIMABUS SANCTI MONACHORUM COMGELLI DESCENDERANT.**

*Angels come to the aid of holy souls.* Alio in tempore <sup>35</sup> vir venerandus, cum in Ioua conversaretur insula, quadam subitatione incitatus, signo personante, collectis fratribus, 'Nunc,' ait, 'oratione monachis abbatis Comgelli auxiliemur, hac in hora in Stagno demersis Vituli; ecce enim hoc

11. Cummanian, VIII. 22. A. abbati B. C. sabbati Colg. Boll. 23-4. illam consuetam deprecaretur prefacionem D.

momento in aere contra adversarias belligerant potestates, animam alicuius hospitis simul cum eis demersi eripere conantes.' Tum, post lacrymosam et intentam orationem cito ante altarium surgens, inter fratres pariter in oratione  
 5 prostratos, laetificato vultu, 'Christo,' ait, 'gratias agite, nunc enim sancti angeli, sanctis obviantes animabus, et ipsum hospitem, ereptum a daemonum belligerationibus, quasi victoriales liberarunt belligeratores.'

*Cap. XIV. DE ANGELORUM MANIFESTATIONE ALICUIUS*  
 10 *EMCHATHI ANIMAE OBVIANTIUM.*

*Angels come for the soul of an aged convert.* Alio in tempore vir sanctus, ultra Britanniae Dorsum iter agens, secus Nisae fluminis lacum, subito inspiratus Spiritu Sancto, ad fratres pariter commeantes, 'Properemus,' ait,  
 15 'sanctis obviam angelis, qui de summis caeli regionibus ad praefarendam alicuius gentilici animam emissi, nos illuc usque pervenientes expectant, ut ipsum, naturale bonum per totam vitam usque ad extremam senectutem conservantem, priusquam moriatur, opportune baptizemus.' Et,  
 20 haec dicens, sanctus senex in quantum potuit comites festinus praecedebat, donec in illum devenit agrum qui Airchartdan nuncupatur: ibidemque quidam repertus senex, Emchatus nomine, audiens a Sancto verbum Dei praedicatum, et credens, baptizatus est, et continuo, laetus et  
 25 securus, cum angelis obviantibus ei, ad Dominum commigravit. Sed et filius eius Virolecus credens cum tota domo est baptizatus.

*Cap. XV. DE ANGELO DOMINI QUI ALICUI FRATRI LAPSO DE MONASTERII CULMINE ROTUNDI IN ROBORETI CAMPO*  
 30 *OPPORTUNE TAM CITO SUBVENERAT.*

*An angel helps one who fell down a round tower.* Alio in tempore vir sanctus, dum in tuguriolo suo scribens sederet, subito eius immutata facies, et hanc puro de pectore promit vocem, dicens, 'Auxiliare, auxiliare.'  
 35 Duo vero fratres ad ianuam stantes, videlicet Colgu, filius Cellachi, et Lugneus Mocublai, causam talis subitae interrogant vocis. Quibus vir venerabilis hoc dedit responsum, inquires, 'Angelo Domini, qui nunc inter vos stabat, iussi ut alicui ex fratribus de summo culmine  
 40 magnae domus lapso tam cito subveniret, quae his in diebus in Roboreti Campo fabricatur.' Hocque con-

sequenter Sanctus intulit famen, inquires, 'Valde admirabilis et paene indicibilis est angelici volatus pernecitas, fulgureae, ut aestimo, celeritati parilis. Nam ille caelicola, qui hinc a nobis nunc, illo viro labi incipiente, avolavit, quasi in ictu oculi, priusquam terram <sup>5</sup> tangeret, subveniens, eum sublevavit; nec ullam fracturam aut laesuram ille qui cecidit sentire potuit. Quam stupenda, inquam, haec velocissima et opportuna subventio, quae, dicto citius, tantis maris et terrae interiacentibus spatiis, tam celerrime effici potuit.' 10

*Cap. XVI. DE ANGELORUM MULTITUDINE SANCTORUM VISA AD BEATI CONDUCTUM VIRI DE CAELO DESCENDENTIUM.*

*Many angels visit St. Columba at the Angels' hill: an over-curious brother.* Alio itidem in tempore, quadam die, vir beatus in Ioua conversans insula, fratribus congregatis, cum ingenti animadversione, denunciavit, ad eos <sup>15</sup> dicens, 'Hodie in occidentalem nostrae campulum insulae solus exire cupio; nemo itaque ex vobis me sequatur.' Quibus obsecundantibus, solus quidem, ut voluit, egreditur. Sed frater quidam, callidus explorator, alia means via, in cuiusdam monticelli cacumine, qui eidem supereminet campulo, se occulte collocat; videlicet illius causam solitariae beati egressionis viri explorare cupiens. Quem cum idem explorator de monticelli vertice, in quodam illius campuli colliculo <sup>20</sup> stantem, et expansis ad caelum manibus orantem, oculosque ad caelum elevantem conspiceret, mirum dictu, et ecce subito res miranda apparuit, quam idem supra memoratus homo, ut aestimo, non sine permissione Dei, de propioris monticelli loco, oculis etiam corporalibus <sup>30</sup> aspexerat, ut nomen Sancti et eius honorificentia, quamvis ipso nolente, ob hanc manifestatam visionem postea magis in populis divulgaretur. Nam sancti angeli, caelestis patriae cives, mira advolantes subitatione, sanctum virum orantem circumstare coeperunt, albatis induti <sup>35</sup> vestibibus; et post aliquam cum beato sermocinationem viro, illa caelestis caterva, quasi se exploratam sentiens, ad summa citius repedavit caelorum. Beatus et ipse vir, post angelicum conductum, reversus ad monasterium, iterum collectis fratribus, cum quadam non mediocri <sup>40</sup> obiurgatione inquit quis de illis esset transgressionis

obnoxius. Quibus consequenter se nescisse protestantibus, **ille, conscius sui inexcusabilis** transgressus, ultra non sustinens delictum celare suum, **flexis genibus**, in medio fratrum choro, coram Sancto, **veniam** supplex **precatur**.  
 5 **Quem Sanctus** seorsum ducens, **ingeniculanti cum grandi commendat comminatione**, ut nulli hominum de illa angelica visione in diebus eiusdem beati viri aliquid etiam parvum occultum aperiret. Post egressum vero de corpore sancti viri, illam caelestis coetus apparitionem  
 10 **fratribus cum grandi intimavit protestatione**. Unde hodieque et **locus illius** angelici conducti rem in eo gestam suo proprio protestatur vocabulo, qui Latine potest dici **Colliculus Angelorum**, Scotice vero Cnoc Angel. Hinc itaque animadvertendum est, et non negligenter perscrutandum, quanta et quales ad beatum virum, in hyemalibus  
 15 plerumque noctibus, insomnem, et in locis remotioribus, aliis quiescentibus, orantem, angelicae fuerint et suaves frequentationes, quae nullo modo venire in hominum notitiam potuere: quae procul dubio valde numerosae  
 20 fuerunt; si etiam quaedam ex ipsis quoquo modo ab hominibus, vel in die vel noctu explorari potuerint; quae absque dubitatione paucae admodum ad earum comparationem angelicarum frequentationum, quae videlicet a nemine sciri poterant. Hoc idem similiter et de quibusdam  
 25 luminosis manifestationibus annotandum, quae a paucis exploratae, inferius caraxabuntur.

*Cap. XVII. DE COLUMNA LUMINOSA SANCTI VIRI DE VERTICE ARDERE VISA.*

*The appearance of a comet on St. Columba's head.* **Alio**  
 30 in **tempore quatuor**, ad **sanctum** visitandum **Columbam**, monasteriorum sancti fundatores **de Scotia** transmeantes, in **Hinba** eum invenerunt **insula**; quorum illustrium vocabula Comgellus Mocu Aridi, Cainnechus Mocu Dalon, Brendenus Mocu Alti, Cormacus Nepos Leathain. Hi  
 35 **uno eodemque consensu** elegerunt ut sanctus Columba coram ipsis in ecclesia **sacra** Eucharistiae consecraret **mysteria**. Qui, eorum obsecundans iussioni, simul cum eis, die **Dominica** ex more, **post Evangelii** lectionem, ecclesiam ingreditur, ibidemque, dum missarum solemnia  
 40 celebrarentur, sanctus Brendenus Mocu Alti, sicut post Comgello et Cainnecho intimavit, **quendam** crinosum  
 26. taxabuntur D. tractabuntur *male* Colg. Boll. 29. **Cummian, XII.**

igneum globum, et valde luminosum, de vertice sancti Columbae, ante altare stantis, et sacram oblationem consecrantis, tamdiu ardentem, et instar alicuius columnae sursum ascendentem, vidit, donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta ministeria.

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*Cap. XVIII.* DE SPIRITUS SANCTI DESCENSIONE SIVE VISITATIONE QUAE IN EADEM INSULA TRIBUS CONTINUIS DIEBUS ET NOCTIBUS SUPER VENERABILEM MANSIT VIRUM.

*Visions in Hinba.* Alio in tempore, cum sanctus vir in Hinba commaneret insula, gratia sancti spiraminis super eum abunde et incomparabiliter effusa, per triduum mirabiliter mansit, ita ut per tres dies totidemque noctes, intra obseratam et repletam caelesti claritudine domum manens, nullum ad se accedere permetteret, neque manducans neque bibens. De qua videlicet domo, immensae claritatis radii, per rimulas valvarum, et clavium foramina, erumpentes, noctu visebantur. Carmina quoque quaedam spiritalia et ante inaudita decantari ab eo audiebantur. Sed et multa quaedam, ut ipse post coram paucis admodum professus est, occulta ab exordio mundi arcana aperte manifestata videbat : Scripturarum quoque sacrarum obscura quaeque et difficillima, plana, et luce clarius aperta, mundissimi cordis oculis patebant. Baitheneumque alumnum non adesse querebatur ; qui si forte adesset illo in triduo, vel de praeteritis vel de futuris deinceps saeculis ab ore viri beati quaedam plurima, ab aliis ignorata hominibus, mysteria describeret ; aliquantas quoque sacrarum explanationes voluminum. Qui tamen Baitheneus, in Egea insula venti contrarietate detentus, usquequo illi trinales illius incomparabilis et honorificae visitationis dies, et totidem noctes, terminarentur, adesse non potuit.

*Cap. XIX.* DE ANGELICA LUCIS CLARITUDINE QUAM VIRGNO, BONAE INDOLIS IUVENIS, QUI POSTEA, DEO AUCTORE, HUIC PRAEFUIT ECCLESIAE, SUPER SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN ECCLESIA, FRATRIBUS HYEMALI NOCTE IN CUBICULIS QUIESCIENTIBUS, DESCENDERE VIDERAT, CUI EGO, INDIGNUS LICET, DESERVIO.

*The church filled with heavenly light.* Quadam hyemali nocte supra memoratus Virgnous, in Dei amore fervens,

9. Cumnian, XIV.

39. Cumnian, XV.

ecclesiam, orationis studio, aliis quiescentibus, solus intrat: ibidemque in quadam exedra, quae oratorii adhaerebat parieti, devotus orabat. Et post aliquantum quasi horae intervallum unius, vir venerandus **Columba** eandem sacram **ingreditur domum, simulque cum eo aurea lux, de summa caeli altitudine descendens**, totum illud ecclesiae spatium replens. **Sed et illius exedriolae separatam conclave, ubi se Virgnous, in quantum potuit, latitare conabatur, eiusdem caelestis claritas luminis, per** 10 **interiorem illius cubiculi ianuam, quae ex minori patebat parte, erumpens, non sine aliquo formidabili repleverat terrore. Et sicut nullus aestem et meridianum solem rectis et irreverberatis potest intueri oculis, sic et illam caelestem claritudinem ille Virgnous, qui viderat,** 15 **sustinere nullo poterat modo; quia valde oculorum reverberabat aciem illa luminosa et incomparabilis effusio. Quo fulminali et formidabili splendore viso, in tantum idem supra memoratus frater exterritus erat, ut nulla in eo virtus remaneret. Sanctus vero Columba, post non** 20 **prolixam orationem, egreditur ecclesiam. Virgnoumque valde timoratum ad se crastina advocat die, hisque brevibus compellat consolatoriis verbis, 'Bene, O filiule,' ingeminans, 'hac praeterita nocte in conspectu Dei pla-** 25 **cuisti, oculos ad terram deprimendo, claritatis timore** 30 **perterritus eius; nam, si non ita fecisses, illa inaestimabili obcaecarentur tui luce visa oculi. Sed hoc non negligeret observare debebis, ut talem hanc lucis manifestationem nemini unquam in mea denudes vita.'** Haec itaque praedicabilis et admirabilis res, post beati viri transitum, multis, eodem Virgnouo narrante, innotuit. Cuius scilicet Virgnoui sororis filius Commanus, honorabilis presbyter, mihi Adamniano de hac supra visione caraxata aliquando, sub testificatione, enarraverat. Qui etiam enarratam ab ore ipsius Virgnoui, abbatis, et avunculi sui, ab eo in quantum potuit 35 visam, audierat.

**Cap. XX. DE ALIA PROPE SIMILI CELSAE CLARITUDINIS VISIONE.**

*A similar vision and injunction.* Alia itidem nocte, quidam de fratribus, Colgius nomine, filius Aido Draigniche, 40 de Nepotibus Fechreg, cuius in primo fecimus mentionem,

32. craxata A. tractata Colg. Boll,

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casu ad ianuam ecclesiae, aliis dormientibus, devenit, ibidemque aliquamdiu stans orabat. Tum proinde subito totam videt ecclesiam caelesti luce repleri: quae scilicet fulguralis lux dicto citius ab eius recessit oculis. Sanctum vero Columbam hora eadem intra ecclesiam orantem 5 ignorabat. Postque talem subitam luminis apparitionem, valde pertimescens, domum revertitur. Postera die Sanctus, illum advocans, asperius obiurgavit, inquires, 'De cetero praecavere debes, fili, ne, quasi explorator, caeleste lumen, quod tibi non est donatum, inspicere coneris, quia 10 te effugiet; et ne alicui in meis diebus quod vidisti enarres.'

Cap. XXI. DE ALIA PARILI DIVINAE LUCIS APPARITIONE.

*A similar light in the saint's cell.* Alio itidem in tempore, vir beatus cuidam suo sapientiam discenti alumno, nomine 15 Berchano, cuius cognomentum Mesloen, non mediocriter quadam denunciavit die, inquires, 'Caveto, fili, ne hac sequenti nocte, iuxta tuam semper consuetudinem, ad meum appropinques hospitium.' Qui haec audiens, contra interdictum, ad domum beati viri, in noctis silentio, 20 aliis quiescentibus, accessit, callideque explorans, oculos e regione ad clavium foramina posuit, aestimans scilicet, ut res probavit, aliquam intus caelestem visionem Sancto manifestari. Nam eadem hora beati viri illud hospitium caelestis splendore claritudinis erat repletum: quam non 25 sustinens intueri, transgressor juvenis illico aufugit. Quem die crastina Sanctus seorsum ducens, cum magna severitate obiurgans, haec ad eum profatur verba, dicens, 'Hac in nocte, fili, coram Deo peccasti, nam tuae infitialis explorationem calliditatis a Spiritu Sancto celari vel abscondi 30 posse inaniter putasti. Nonne ad mei ostium hospitii te illa in hora appropinquantem et inde redeuntem vidi? et nisi ego eodem momento pro te orarem, ibidem ante ianuam, aut cadens morereris, aut tui de suis foraminibus oculi eruerentur. Sed tibi hac vice propter me Dominus 35 pepercit. Et hoc scito, quod in tua Hiberni patriae luxuriose vivens, exprobrationem facies tua omnibus patietur diebus vitae tuae. Hoc tamen a Domino orans impetravi, ut quia noster sis alumnus, lacrymosam ante exitum agas poenitudinem, et a Deo misericordiam consequaris.' Quae 40 omnia, secundum verbum beati viri, ita ei postea contigerunt, sicuti de eo prophetata sunt.



**Cap. XXII.** DE ALIA ANGELORUM SANCTO MANIFESTATA VIRO APPARITIONE, QUOS SANCTAE EIUS ANIMAE OBVIARE INCIPIENTES, QUASI MOX DE CORPORE VIDERAT MIGRATURAE.

5 *A vision of angels coming for St. Columba's soul.* Alio in tempore, dum vir beatus in Ioua commaneret insula, quadam die sancta facies eius subita mirifica et laetifica hilaritate effloruit, oculosque ad caelum elevans, incomparabili repletus gaudio, valde laetificabatur. Tum,  
 10 post modicum alicuius momentioli intervallum, illa sapida et suavis laetificatio in maestam convertitur tristificationem. Duo vero viri, qui eadem hora eius tugurioli ad ianuam stabant, quod in eminentiore loco erat fabricatum, et ipsi cum eo valde tristificati, quorum unus Lugneus erat Mocublai, alter vero Pilu nuncupabatur, Saxo, causam ipsius  
 15 subitae laetationis inquirunt, et illius subsequentis maestitiae. Ad quos Sanctus sic profatur, 'Ite in pace, nec illius laetaminis causam, nec etiam tristificationis, a me nunc inquiratis manifestari.' Quo audito, illacrymati, ingeniculantes, prostratis in terra vultibus, suppliciter rogant, scire volentes aliquid de illa re quae hora eadem Sancto erat revelata. Quos valde tristificatos videns, 'Quia vos,'  
 20 ait, 'amo, tristificari nolo. Promittere prius debetis ne ulli hominum sacramentum quod inquiritis in vita mea prodatis.' Qui continuo, secundum eius commendationem, prompte promiserunt. Et, post talem promissionem, vir venerandus sic ad eos proloquitur, 'Usque in hunc,'  
 25 inquit, 'praesentem diem, meae in Britannia peregrinationis terdeni completi sunt anni. Interea multis ante diebus a Domino meo devote postulavi, ut in fine tricesimi huius praesentis anni me de meo absolveret incolatu, et ad caelestem patriam illico advocaret. Et haec fuit mei causa laetaminis, de qua vos me maesti interrogatis. Angelos enim sanctos de excelso vidi missos throno ad  
 30 meam de carne animam obvios educendam. Sed ecce nunc, subito retardati, ultra nostrae fretum insulae stant in rupe, scilicet volentes ad me de corpore advocandum appropriare. Sed propius accedere non permittuntur, mox ad caelorum summa repedaturi; quia Dominus quod  
 35 mihi totis viribus roganti donavit, ut hac in die ad ipsum

de mundo transirem, **multarum** magis **ecclesiarum** pro me orationes exaudiens, dicto citius immutavit. Quibus scilicet ecclesiis exorantibus sic a Domino donatum est, ut, quamlibet contra meam voluntatem, quatuor ab hac die mihi in carne manenti superaddantur anni. Haec 5 talis mihi maesta retardatio hodiernae tristificationis non immerito causa fuit. Quibus videlicet quatuor futuris, Deo propitio, **terminatis** in hac vita annis, **subita emigratione**, nulla praecedente corporis molestia, cum sanctis mihi obviaturis illo in tempore angelis, ad **Dominum** 10 **laetus emigrabo**. Secundum haec verba, vir venerabilis, quae non sine magno gemitu et maerore, ut traditur, nec non et ingenti lacrimabilitate, prolocutus est, quatuor postea annis in carne mansit.

**Cap. XXIII. DE TRANSITU AD DOMINUM SANCTI NOSTRI** 15  
**PATRONI COLUMBAE.**

*St. Columba blesses Iona and its inhabitants.* Annorum supra quatuor memoratorum termino iam appropinquante, post quorum completionem finem praesentis vitae veridicus praesagator sibi futurum fore multo ante praesciebat 20 tempore, **quadam die, mense Maio**, sicut in priore secundo scripsimus libro, ad visitandos **operarios fratres** senex senio fessus, **plastro vectus, pergit**. Ad quos, in occidua insulae Iouae laborantes parte, sic ea die exorsus est loqui, dicens, '**In Paschali solemnitate nuper Aprili** 25 **peracta mense, desiderio desideravi ad Christum Dominum**, sicut et mihi ab eo concessum erat, si maluissem, **emigrare**. Sed ne vobis **laetitiae festivitas in tristitiam verteretur, diem** meae de mundo emigrationis **paulo diutius protelari malui**.' His ab eo maestis monachi familiares 30 auditis interim dictis valde tristificati sunt: quos in quantum poterat verbis coepit consolatoriis laetificare. Quibus finitis, ut erat in vehiculo sedens, ad orientem suam convertens faciem, insulam cum insulanis benedixit habitatoribus; ex qua die, ut in supra memorato cara- 35 xatum est libello, **viperarum venena trisulcarum linguarum usque in hodiernum diem, nullo modo aut homini aut pecori nocere potuere**. Post eiusdem benedictionis verba **Sanctus ad suum revehitur monasterium**.

*An angel visits him in the church.* Tum proinde, paucis diebus transactis, dum missarum solemnia, ex more, Dominica celebrarentur die, subito, sursum elevatis oculis, facies venerabilis viri florido respersa rubore videtur: quia, sicut scriptum est, ‘Corde laetante vultus floret.’ Eadem namque hora angelum Domini supra volitantem solus vidit intra ipsius oratorii parietes: et quia sanctorum angelorum amabilis et tranquillus aspectus gaudium et exultationem electorum pectoribus infundit, haec fuit illius subitae causa laetitiae beato infusa viro. De qua scilicet causa inspiratae laetationis, cum qui inerant ibidem praesentes inquirerent, hoc eis Sanctus responsum, sursum respiciens, dedit, ‘Mira et incomparabilis angelicae subtilitas naturae. Ecce enim angelus Domini, ad repetendum aliquod Deo carum missus depositum, nos desuper intra ecclesiam aspiciens et benedicens, rursum per parasticiam ecclesiae reversus, nulla talis vestigia exitus reliquit.’ Haec Sanctus. Sed tamen, de qualitate illius depositi ad quod missus est angelus requirendum, nemo de circumstantibus recognoscere potuit. Noster vero patronus sanctum, propriam a Deo sibi commendatam animam, depositum nuncupavit. Quae, sicuti inferius narrabitur, alia, senis intervenientibus continuis diebus, Dominica nocte ad Dominum emigravit.

*He blesses the barn and the corn.* Vir itaque venerabilis in fine eiusdem hebdomadis, hoc est die sabbati, ipse et eius pius minister Diormitius ad proximum pergunt benedicendum horreum. Quod intrans Sanctus cum benedixisset, et duos in eo frugum sequestratos acervos, hoc intulit verbum cum gratiarum actione, inquires, ‘Valde congratulor meis familiaribus monachis, quia hoc etiam anno, si quoquam a vobis emigrare me oportuerit, annum sufficientem habebitis.’ Quo audito verbo, Diormitius minister tristificari coepit, et sic dicere, ‘Huius anni tempore, pater, saepius nos contristas, quia de tuo transitu crebro commemoras.’ Cui Sanctus hoc dedit responsum, ‘Aliquem arcanum habeo sermusculum, quem, si mihi firmiter promiseris, nemini ante meum denudare obitum, de meo tibi egressu aliquid manifestius intimare potero.’ Quam cum talem minister promissionem, iuxta voluntatem Sancti, flexis genibus, terminasset, vir venerandus conse-

1. Cumman, XVIII.  
monusculum D.

25. Cumman, XIX.

37. ser-

quenter sic profatur, ‘Haec in sacris voluminibus dies **Sabbatum nuncupatur, quod interpretatur requies. Et mihi vere est sabbatum haec hodierna, quia huius praesentis laboriosae vitae mihi ultima est, in qua post meas laborationum molestias sabbatizo; et hac sequenti** <sup>5</sup> media venerabili **Dominica nocte, secundum eloquia Scripturarum, patrum gradiar viam. Iam enim Dominus meus Iesus Christus me invitare dignatur; ad quem, inquam, hac mediante nocte, ipso me invitante, emigrabo. Sic enim mihi ab ipso Domino revelatum est.**’ Haec <sup>10</sup> maesta minister audiens verba, coepit amare flere. Quem Sanctus in quantum potuit consolari conabatur.

*The white horse makes his farewell to the saint.* Post haec Sanctus horreum egreditur, et ad monasterium revertens, media residet via, in quo loco postea crux, molari <sup>15</sup> infixa lapidi hodieque stans, in margine cernitur viae. Dumque ibidem Sanctus, ut praefatus sum, senio fessus, paululum sedens, requiesceret, ecce albus occurrit caballus, obediens servitor, qui scilicet lactaria bocetum inter et monasterium vascula gestare consueverat. Hic ad Sanctum <sup>20</sup> accedens, mirum dictu, caput in sinu eius ponens, ut credo inspirante Deo, cui omne animal rerum sapit sensu quo iusserit ipse Creator, dominum a se suum mox emigraturum, et ipsum ultra non visurum sciens, coepit plangere, uber-  
timque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium Sancti fundere, <sup>25</sup> et valde spumans flere. Quod videns minister, coepit illum flebilem repellere lamentatorem: sed Sanctus prohibuit eum, dicens, ‘Sine hunc, sine nostri amatorem, ut in hunc meum sinum fletus effundat amarissimi plangoris. Ecce tu, homo cum sis, et rationalem animam habeas, nullo <sup>30</sup> modo scire de meo exitu potuisti, nisi quod tibi ego ipse nuper manifestavi: huic vero bruto et irrationali animanti, quoque modo ipse Conditor voluit, egressurum a se dominum manifeste revelavit.’ Et haec dicens maestum a se revertentem equum benedixit ministratorem. <sup>35</sup>

*Who blesses the monastery.* Et inde egrediens, et monticellum **monasterio supereminentem ascendens, in vertice eius paululum stetit, et stans, ambas elevans palmas, suum benedixit coenobium, inquit, ‘Huic loco, quamlibet angusto et vili, non tantum Scotorum reges, cum <sup>40</sup> populis, sed etiam barbararum et exterarum gentium reg-**

natores, cum plebibus sibi subiectis, grandem et non mediocrem conferent honorem: a Sanctis quoque etiam aliarum ecclesiarum non mediocris veneratio conferetur.'

*Transcribes the Psalter.* Post haec verba, de illo descendens monticellulo, et ad monasterium revertens, sedebat in tugurio Psalterium scribens; et ad illum tricesimi tertii psalmi versiculum perveniens ubi scribitur, 'Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono,' 'Hic,' ait, 'in fine cessandum est paginae; quae  
10 vero sequuntur Baitheneus scribat.' Sancto convenienter congruit decessori novissimus versiculus quem scripserat, cui nunquam bona deficient aeterna: successori vero sequens patri, spiritalium doctori filiorum, 'Venite, filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos,' congruenter convenit; qui, sicut decessor commendavit, non  
15 solum ei docendo, sed etiam scribendo, successit.

*And goes to the church for vespers, and exhorts the brethren.* Post talem superius memoratum terminatae versum perscriptum paginae, Sanctus ad vespertinalem  
20 Dominicae noctis missam ingreditur ecclesiam: qua continuo consummata, ad hospitium revertens, in lectulo residet pernox; ubi pro stramine nudam habebat petram, et pro pulvillo lapidem, qui hodieque quasi quidam iuxta sepulcrum eius titulus stat monumenti.  
25 Ibidem itaque residens, ultima ad fratres mandata, solo audiente ministro, commendat, inquiens, 'Haec vobis, O filioli, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuum et non fictam habeatis charitatem, cum pace: et si ita, iuxta sanctorum exempla patrum, observaveritis,  
30 Deus, confortator bonorum, vobis auxiliabitur, et ego, cum ipso manens, pro vobis interpellabo; et non tantum praesentis vitae necessaria ab eo sufficienter administrabuntur, sed etiam aeternalium bonorum praemia, divinorum observatoribus praeparata, tribuentur.' Hucusque extrema  
35 venerabilis patroni verba, quasi de hac taediali peregrinatione ad caelestem patriam transmeantis, brevi textu narrata deducta sunt.

*He goes to the church again.* Post quae, felici appropinquante novissima paulisper hora, Sanctus conticuit.  
40 Tum proinde media nocte pulsata personante clocca, festinus surgens, ad ecclesiam pergit, citiorque ceteris

4. Cummian, XX.  
39. Cummian, XXII.

18. Cummian, XXI.

20. officium B.

currens, solus introgressus iuxta altare flexis in oratione genibus recumbit; Diormitius minister, tardius prosecutus, eodem momento eminus totam intrinsecus ecclesiam angelica luce erga Sanctum repleti videt: quo ad ianuam appropinquante, eadem lux visa ocus 5 recessit: quam etiam alii de fratribus pauci, et ipsi eminus astantes, viderant. Diormitius ergo, ecclesiam ingrediens, flebili ingeminat voce, 'Ubi es, Pater?' Et, necdum allatis fratrum lucernis, per tenebras palpans, Sanctum ante altarium recubantem invenit: quem 10 paululum erigens, et iuxta sedens, sanctum in suo gremio posuit caput. Et inter haec coetus monachorum cum luminaribus accurrens, patre viso moriente, coepit plangere. Et, ut ab aliquibus qui praesentes inerant didicimus, Sanctus, necdum egrediente anima, apertis 15 sursum oculis, ad utrumque latus cum mira vultus hilaritate et laetitia circumspiciebat; sanctos scilicet obvios intuens angelos. Diormitius tum sanctam sublevat ad benedicendum Sancti monachorum chorum dexteram manum. Sed et ipse venerabilis pater, in quantum poterat, simul suam movebat manum, ut videlicet quod voce in egressu non valebat animae, etiam motu manus fratres videretur benedicere. Et post sanctam benedictionem taliter significatam, continuo spiritum exhalavit. Quo 20 tabernaculum corporis egresso, facies rubens, et mirum in modum angelica visione exhilarata, in tantum remansit, ut non quasi mortui, sed dormientis videretur viventis. Tota interim personabat maestis plangoribus ecclesia.

*His death is revealed to a holy man in Ireland.* Sed non 30 praetereundum videtur quod eadem hora beatæ transitus animæ, cuidam Hiberniensi Sancto revelatum est. In illo namque monasterio quod Scotica nominatur lingua Cloni Finchoil, quidam homo erat sanctus, senex Christi miles, qui Lugudius vocitabatur, filius Tailchani, iustus et sapiens. 35 Hic itaque primo mane cuidam aequæ Christiano militi, Fergnouo nomine, suam enarravit visionem, cum ingenti gemitu, dicens, 'Hac præterita nocte media sanctus Columba, multarum columna ecclesiarum, ad Dominum transiit, et in hora beati exitus eius Iouam insulam, ad 40 quam corpore nunquam perveni, totam angelorum claritudine in spiritu vidi irradiatam, totaque spatia aeris usque ad aethera caelorum, eorundem angelorum claritate illustrata;

qui ad sanctam ipsius animam perferendam, de caelis missi, descenderunt innumeri. Altisona quoque carminalia, et valde suavia audiui angelicorum coetuum cantica eodem momento egressionis inter angelicos sanctae ipsius animae  
 5 ascendentes choros.' Hanc angelicam manifestationem Virgnous, ut praedictum est, qui ab ore sancti illius senis cui revelata erat, indubitanter didicerat, iisdem diebus de Scotia remigans, Hinba in insula reliquis diebus vitae suae permanens, sancti Columbae monachis saepius enarrabat.  
 10 Qui videlicet Virgnous, post multos in subiectione inter fratres irreprehensibiliter expletos annos, alios duodecim in loco anachoretarum in Muirbulmar, vitam ducens anachoreticam, Christi victor miles, explevit. Hanc praedictam visionem, non solum paginis inscriptam reperimus,  
 15 sed et ab aliquibus expertis senioribus, quibus ipse Virgnous retulerat, sine ullo didicimus cunctamine.

*A heavenly light seen in Donegal.* Eadem quoque hora aliam visionem, aliter revelatam, unus ex eis qui viderant, Christi miles, valde senex, cuius nomen etiam potest dici  
 20 Ferreolus, Scotice vero Ernene, gente Mocufirroide, qui inter aliorum sancti Columbae monachorum reliquias, et ipse sanctus monachus, in Dorso Tomme sepultus, cum sanctis resurrectionem expectat, mihi Adamnano, illo iuveni in tempore, cum grandi retulerat testificatione, dicens, 'Illa  
 25 in nocte qua sanctus Columba de terra ad caelos felici et beato fine transiit, ego et alii mecum viri laborantes in captura piscium in valle piscosi fluminis Fendae, subito totum aerei illustratum caeli spatium vidimus. Cuius miraculi subitatione permoti, oculos ad orientem elevatos  
 30 convertimus, et ecce, quasi quaedam pergrandis ignea apparuit columna, quae in illa nocte media sursum ascendens ita nobis videbatur mundum illustrare totum, sicuti aesteus et meridianus sol, et postquam illa penetravit columna caelum, quasi post occasum solis, tenebrae succedunt. Huius  
 35 itaque claritudinem luminosae et praedicabilis columnae, non tantum nos, qui simul in eodem loco ineramus, cum ingenti admiratione vidimus, sed et alii multi piscatores, qui sparsim per diversas fluminales piscinas eiusdem fluminis piscabantur, sicut nobis post retulerant, simili apparitione  
 40 visa, magno pavore sunt perculsi.' Harum igitur trium

miracula visionum eadem transitus hora venerandi apparentium patroni, aeternos ei a Domino collatos protestantur honores. Ad propositum revertamur.

*The body prepared for burial.* Interea post sanctae egressum animae, hymnis matutinalibus terminatis, 5 sacrum corpus de ecclesia ad hospitium, unde paulo ante vivens venerat, cum canora fratrum reportatur psalmodia, honesteque ternis diebus et totidem noctibus honorabiles rite explentur exequiae. Quibus in Dei sapidis laudibus terminatis, sancti et beati patroni venerabile corpus, mundis involutum sindonibus, et praeparata positum in ratabusta, debita humatur cum veneratione, in luminosa et aeternali resurrecturum claritudine.

*A prophecy fulfilled.* De supra memoratis ergo tribus illis exequiarum diebus more peractis ecclesiastico, quod nobis 15 ab expertis traditum est, huius prope finem enarrabitur libri. Quidam namque aliquando unus de fratribus coram venerabili viro simpliciter loquens. 'Ad celebrandas,' ait ad Sanctum, 'tuas, post tuum obitum exequias, totus harum provinciarum populus hanc Iouam remigans replebit insulam.' Quod verbum audiens Sanctus consequenter ait, 'O mi filiole, non ut loqueris sic res probabit, nam promiscuum populi vulgus nullo modo ad meas poterit exequias venire; mei soli familiares monachi mea sepulcralia complebunt, et exequialia honestabunt officia.' 25 Quod verbum eius propheticum, statim post transitum ipsius, omnipotentia Dei adimpleri fecit: nam per tres illas exequiales dies et noctes, grandis sine pluvia facta est ventosa tempestas, qua fortiter prohibente, nullus hinc inde navicella vectus transfretare poterat. Et post consummatam beati sepultionem viri continuo tempestate sedata, et cessante vento, totum tranquillatum est aequor. 30

*Epilogue. St. Columba's miracles.* Perpendat itaque lector quanti et qualis apud Deum praedicabilis patronus honoris habeatur, cui aliquando in carne mortali conversanti Deo dignante, oranti, tempestates sedatae sunt, et maria tranquillata; et rursus, quando necesse habuit, supra memorata occasione, orta flamina ventorum, et ventosa, cum voluit, concita sunt aequora, quae subsequenter, ut 35

4. Cumman, XXIII. 12. ratabusta A. B. rata busta F. intra busta C. in rata tabeta D. catabusta suo iure Boll. 17. Cumman, XXIV. 33. Cumman, XXV.



superius dictum est, expletis eius sepulturae ministeriis, in magnam conversa sunt tranquillitatem.

*Reflections on his death, and on his fame.* Hic itaque nostro praedicabili patrono vitae terminus fuit, ista meritorum exordia; qui, secundum sententias Scripturarum, aeternis comes triumphis, Patribus additus, Apostolis et Prophetis consertus, numero aggregatus albatorum millium Agnino in sanguine suas Sanctorum qui laverunt stolas, Agnum ductorem comitatur, virgo immaculatus, ab omni integer labe, ipso Domino nostro Iesu Christo dignante: cui est cum Patre honor, virtus, laus, gloria, et imperium sempiternum in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per omnia saecula saeculorum.

Post horum trinalium lectionem libellorum, quisque diligens annotet lector quanti et qualis meriti sanctus saepe supra memoratus praesul venerandus, quantae et qualis apud Deum honorificentiae fuerit aestimatus, quantae et quales angelicae ad ipsum, et luminosae frequentationes, fuerint; quanta in eo prophetalis gratia, quanta dialium efficientia virtutum; quanta et quam frequens eum divini luminis claritudo in carne mortali adhuc commorantem circumfulserit; quae, etiam post egressum animae de tabernaculo corporis almissimae, sicuti quibusdam electis ostensum habetur compertum, locum in quo ipsius sancta pausant ossa usque hodie eadem caelestis claritas frequentare non cessat, et sanctorum frequens visitatio angelorum. Et haec etiam eidem beatæ memoriae viro a Deo non mediocris est collata gratia, qua nomen eius non tantum per totam nostram Scotiam, et omnium totius orbis insularum maximam Britanniam, clare divulgari promeruit, in hac parva et extrema oceani Britannici commoratus insula; sed etiam ad trigonam usque Hispaniam, et Gallias, et ultra Alpes Peninas Italiam sitam pervenire, ipsam quoque Romanam civitatem, quae caput est omnium civitatum. Tantus et talis honor noscibilis eidem Sancto inter ceterae divinae donationis munera condonatus scitur a Deo, qui se diligentes amat, et eos qui eum sapidis magnificant laudibus magis ac magis glorificans, immensis sublimat honoribus, qui est benedictus in saecula. Amen.

Obsecro eos quicunque voluerint hos describere libellos, immo potius adiuro per Christum, iudicem saeculorum, ut postquam diligenter descripserint, conferant, et emendent

cum omni diligentia, ad exemplar unde caraxerunt, et hanc quoque adiurationem hoc in loco subscribant.

**Quicumque hos virtutum libellos Columbae legerit, pro  
me Dorbbeneo  
Deum deprecetur, ut vitam post mortem aeternam ꝑ  
possedeam.**

r. craxerunt A. traxerunt Colg. Boll.

# NOTES

## PREFACE

PAGE 85. 10. *constare*] This paraphrase of 1 Cor. iv. 20, 'Non enim in sermone est regnum Dei, sed in virtute,' Vulg., has apparently been suggested by a similar passage in a preface to the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius Severus, 'ut res potius quam verba perpendant,' etc., Gwynn, 377 a. Reeves thinks that Adamnan has borrowed other ideas from the same source.

*Scoticae*] Irish, so *passim*; see note on *Scotia*, below, p. 191. The Celtic tongues were characterized as barbarous by Gregory, Bede, and others.

11. *onomata*] This is the first of many instances in which Adamnan, following the fashion of his time, makes use of Greek loan-words. Latin words were sometimes written in Greek letters, though often incorrectly, and specimens of Greek, as for example the Lord's Prayer in Cod. A. of Adamnan, were written in a peculiar Irish form of the Greek character (Reeves, 1857, xx, xxi, 354, and facsimile Pl. 3). Similar instances occur in the *Book of Armagh*, c. A.D. 807. See Intr. iv. § 13. Greek seems to have been cultivated as a matter of interest and curiosity, but in many cases with very slender knowledge (Reeves, 1857, 158 n.). We find in the *Antiphonarium Benchoreense* (A.D. 680-691), proto, 5 a, Alfa et ω, 11 r, agie, 12 r, agius, 15 v, pantes, ta erga, 15 v, zoen, 36 v. If we had more liturgical remains of the old national rite, we should probably find survivals of Greek similar to those still remaining in the Roman service-books, which are analogous to the Latin survivals in the English Prayer-book, and carry us back to times when Greek was the principal ecclesiastical language. It may here be mentioned that Greek, written phonetically in Roman letters, was used somewhat extensively in England as late as the eleventh century (*Archaeologia*, xlv. 389, etc.).

18. *curaxata*] *Caraxare*, to write (*craxare* in Cod. A. and in *De Locis Sanctis*, *xraxare* in the Irish Cod. Lat. Paris, 12021), is from *χαράσσω*, to scratch, denoting the action of the stylus on waxed tablets; it had been used by Latin writers as early as Prudentius, and *karaxare* occurs in charters of Eadgar and Æthelred. Colgan and the Bollandists have adopted Stephen White's improper substitution of *exarare*.

23. *præfatiunculam*] On the frequent use of diminutives by Adamnan and other Irish writers, see above, in the conclusion of the Introduction.

28. *monasteriorum*] The number is variously stated at sixty-six (Colgan), one hundred (Jocelin), and three hundred (O'Donnell).

PAGE 86. 3. *Iona*] Heb. יוֹנָה, 1. a dove, 2. proper name 'Jonah'.

Columbanus in the superscription of his epistle to Pope Boniface IV made a similar reference to his name in the same three languages. It no doubt helped to determine the erroneous form 'Iona', as the name of the island 'Hy' or 'Y'.

4. ΠΕΠΙΣΤΕΡΑ] See the various readings. The confusion of long and short Greek vowels is common in Irish MSS. The reading of Cod. C. is probably an explanatory gloss ('gentleness'), possibly a misunderstanding of the Greek capitals.

5. *Columba*] On St. Columba's Irish names see above, in the Introduction (vi. § 1). There are at least 264 Irish saints called Colum, Colman, Columba, etc., mostly men, but in Continental hagiology Columba is a woman's name. Adamnan uses the forms Columba, Columbanus, Columbus, and Columb. Mr. Olden has remarked to me that the frequent use of 'Colum' with its additions was perhaps meant as a rebuke to the quarrelsome habits of the Celt.

18. *Melius est*, etc.] Prov. xxii. 1, Vulg.

24. *proselytus Brito*] A British stranger. St. Mochta of Lughmagh, or Louth (Aug. 19), is described in his life as 'ortus ex Britannia', hence his title *proselytus*. He is said to have styled himself in an epistle, 'peccator prespiter, sancti Patricii discipulus,' and to have died in 534 (*Annals of Ulster*). The word *proselytus* is used by St. Patrick in this sense both in his *Confession* and in his *Epistle on Coroticus*. According to a metrical account quoted in the mediaeval notes on the *Calendar of Oengus* (ed. Stokes, cxxxii; H.B.S. 189), St. Mochta had 300 priests, 100 bishops, and 80 psalm-singing noble youths, who did no ploughing, reaping, kiln-drying, nor any work save only reading.

25. *Patricii*] The only allusion made by Adamnan to St. Patrick.

31. *monasteriorum*] We can hardly attach any special meaning to the diminutives here. But see Glossary.

32. *disterminabuntur*] This prophecy cannot be shewn to have been fulfilled.

37. *de miraculis*] The *promissiuncula* referred to in the opening words of i. 1.

40. *propheticas revelationes*] In later times many spurious prophecies, worthy to rank with those of Merlin and Mother Shipton, were attributed to St. Columba and to other saints, who may at first only have been called 'prophets' in the sense of preachers. The Irish have always been disposed to welcome such predictions (O'Curry, *Lect. on MS. Materials*, 382-434). Even the Norman knight John de Courcy, c. 1176, kept by him a book of St. Columcille's prophecies, although as they were written in Irish he could not read a word of them (Joyce, *Hist.* 272). On mediaeval prophecies, see Döllinger's *Prophecies* (tr. by Dr. Plummer), and on some of the latest productions of this kind, Reeves, 1857, lxxx; 1874, xli.

43. *cohaerent*] This is common in MSS. of the date of Cod. A. and is a transition towards complete separation of all words.

PAGE 87. 3. *praedicabili*] A favourite epithet with Adamnan, frequently applied to St. Columba, in i. 37 to his prophecies, and in *De Locis Sanctis* to Jerusalem, and to a *capsa*. Render, 'famous.'

11. *Sanctus igitur*, etc.] Other early biographies begin in this manner after their prefaces, and Codd. C., D., F., S. make this the beginning of ch. I. So also Cummanian.

12. *nobilibus*, etc.] See Intr. vi. § 1, and the Genealogical Table, p. 83.

13. *Ferguso*] The regular form of the old Irish genitive, as in *Aido*, i. 10, etc.

14. *Scotica*, etc.] In the Irish language. See note on *Scotia*, l. 16.

15. *Culedrebinae bellum*] The great battle of Cooladrummon, on which see Intr. vi. § 6.

16. *Scotia*] Bede writes 'Venit de Hibernia . . . Columba Britanniam' (*H. E.* iii. 4), and Adamnan 'per totam nostram Scotiam, et . . . Britanniam', iii. 23. Many similar passages might be cited, yet the identity of *Scotia* with *Hibernia* was long disputed by North British writers. *Scotia*, an ancient name of Ireland, passed on to Alba or North Britain as a consequence of emigrations, as it has now passed on to Nova Scotia in the New World. Scotland had the name of *Scotia Minor* at first, while the parent country was called *Scotia Major*, or *Vetus*. This continued to about the eleventh century, when Ireland returned to the other native name *Eire*, whence 'Eireland', and 'Scotia' gradually came to be used of North Britain only. 'Erin' is really the dative of *Eriu*, an earlier form of *Eire*.

17. *Britanniam*] Britain regarded as one. In earlier writings, e.g. the *Confession of St. Patrick*, the plural *Britanniae* is used, denoting the Roman provinces of what is now Great Britain, which varied in number at different times; in the fourth century there were five. The plural form has been used on our coins since 1817, meaning 'of the British Isles', including Ireland. It does not occur on Roman coins.

*peregrinari volens*] This passage possibly gives the true or at any rate the chief reason of St. Columba's leaving Ireland. On some alleged reasons, see above, Intr. vi. § 6.

23. *per annos xxxiv*] Bede says 'circiter xxx et duos' (*H. E.* iii. 4), but Adamnan makes the number amount to 34 again in iii. 22.

PAGE 88. *Capitulationes*] These headings appear to be genuine, though independent, portions of the original work. They do not quite correspond with those of the chapters as we have them (see the numbers appended and notes thereon), and they contain some different forms of names and words, in one instance supplying a proper name not elsewhere mentioned.

17. This and the preceding title both belong to ch. 17.

27. *hydrium*] 'Aquarium vas' in ch. 24.

PAGE 89. 4. *Loch-diae*] Not mentioned by name in ch. 34. The

*Annals of Ulster* s. a. 728 mention *stagnum Loogdae*, but it has not been identified.

7. Chapters 36 and 37 are not mentioned here.

8. *Enano filio Gruth*] 'Nemano filio Gruthriche' in ch. 39.

10. *furunculo*] In ch. 41 he is called *fur*, and *valde furax*. In classical Latin *furunculus* is a petty thief, a pilferer; thus Cicero speaks of one who was 'olim furunculus, nunc etiam rapax' (*In Pisonem*, 27). Here the diminutive has no force.

13. Chapters 44-50 are not mentioned here.

## LIB. I

PAGE 90. *Cæp. I*] This chapter may be regarded as a third preface; it is wanting in all the MSS. except A. (B. is imperfect here), and its genuineness has been questioned, probably on insufficient grounds.

6. *promissiunculam*] See above, in Pref. 2, p. 86.

9. *sanavit*] See ii. 4, 5, 6, 18, 30, 31, 33, 40, 46.

*daemonum*] See ii. 11, 16, 17; iii. 8, 13.

13. *nostra de insula*] So in ch. 30, 'nostro huic monasterio,' and in ch. 37, 'nostrum monasterium,' confirming the opinion that this Life was written in Iona, and not, as has been thought, in Ireland. See Intr. viii. § 10.

*primaria*] Bede thus refers to the primacy of Iona: 'In quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret', *H. E.* iii. 4.

14. *repulit*] See iii. 8.

16. *compescuit*] See ii. 26, 27.

18. *humiliati sunt*] See ii. 12, 13.

20. *Pictorum*] The *Picti* were properly the Picts or Caledonians, who dwelt in the northern parts of what is now called Scotland. But there were also the Cruithne or 'Irish Picts', who inhabited the southern half of Antrim and the greater part of Down.

21. *magos*] The term *Magi*, Druids, is used in Acts of Irish Saints as equivalent to *Draoithe*, *Druith*, as *Draoithe* is of the 'Magi' in St. Matt. ii. 1, and *Druith* of Jannes and Jambres in the Wurzburg Irish gloss on 2 Tim. iii. 8.

24. *ventum*] See ii. 34.

25. *conversi sunt*] See i. 4; ii. 15, 42, 45.

28. *sanitates*] See ii. 33.

30. *Brudeo rege*] Brude, son of Maelcon, king of the Picts, c. 554 to 584; mentioned also in i. 37; ii. 33, 35, 42.

32. *suscitavit*] See ii. 32.

34. *Hibernia*] The oldest extant form of the native name is Eriu, supposed to be from a still older native name Iberiu, through an intermediate Ieriu. Hiberio is the Latin form used in St. Patrick's writings. The form 'Hybernia' may be due to transcribers. Bede uses 'Hibernia'. See note on *Scotia*, p. 191, and Joyce, ii. 458.

35. *Findbarrum*] Finbarr, Finnio, Finnian, or Vinnian, a bishop at Maghbile or Moville, in Down, St. Columba's former instructor, not to be confounded with the other Finnian of Cluain-Eraird, now Clonard in Meath. He died Sept. 10 (his day), 579. 'Finnian' is formed from dim. of *finn*, white, Findbarr from *finn barr*, white head. See Intr. v. § 5.

PAGE 91. 1. *vinum*] See ii. 1. Bede relates how water was thought to taste like wine after St. Cuthbert had blessed it and drunk a little of it. *Vita S. Cuthb.* 35.

4. *effusum*] See iii. 17-21.

6. *meruit*] See iii. *passim*.

8. *videbat*] See iii. 6, 7, 9-14.

9. *aspiciebat*] See i. 35, 39; ii. 23, 25.

11. *laeta*] See i. 3, 10, 11, 31, 46; ii. 39.

*tristia*] See i. 16, 21, 22, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 47; ii. 22.

13, 14. *victi, victores*] See i. 7, 8, 12.

15. *de carne transitum*] See ii. 45, 46.

20. *Ossualdo*] St. Oswald was king of Northumbria, 634 or 635-642.

*Saxonico*] See note on *Saxonia*, below, on l. 42.

21. *Catlonem*] Cadwalla, king of the Strathclyde Welsh. A Christian in name, but a heathen in life and conduct (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20). Bede's description is literally applicable to some in our time. After a long struggle against the Saxon domination, he allied himself in 633 with Penda king of Mercia and slew King Edwin in battle at Hatfield in Yorkshire. In 634 he slew Osric king of Deira, and in 635 Eanfrid king of Bernicia. Proceeding to harry Northumberland, he was slain in battle with King Oswald at Denisesburn in the same year (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20; iii. 1).

23. *belli*] The reference is to the battle of Denisesburn, supposed to be the same as Devil's Water, a stream which falls into the Tyne at Dilston, formerly Devilston, in Northumberland. Bede (*H. E.* iii. 1, 2) gives some interesting particulars respecting this battle, but does not refer to the appearing of St. Columba. In the *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert*, written by a monk of Durham early in the twelfth century, is a very similar story of St. Cuthbert's appearing to King Alfred before the battle of 'Assandun' to encourage him for the conflict.

*papillione*] Pavilion, Irish *pupall*.

32. *tecum*, etc.] Founded on Josh. i. 5, 18, Vulg.

42. *Saxonia*] A name given by Adamnan, as by some other writers, to England in general; in iii. 10, 22, he uses *Saxo*. The Irish still speak of an Englishman as 'the Saxon'.

*gentilitatis*] Of heathenism.

PAGE 92. 8. *imperator*] The Bretwalda.

9. *Hanc mihi*] Note the way in which Adamnan obtained his information; cp. note on *didicimus*, iii. 23. Cadwalla was slain in 635, when Adamnan was about eleven years old. The author speaks again of himself in the first person in this chapter and in 2, 3, 49; ii. 45, 46; iii. 19, 23.

*Adamnano*] The name is an Irish diminutive of Adam. See Intr. viii. § 8.

10. *Failbeus*] Failbhe, eighth abbot of Iona, 669-679. See Intr. viii. § 7.

11. *Segineo*] Segineus or Seghine was fifth abbot, 623-652. See Intr. viii. § 4.

16. *carmina*] Adamnan is probably referring to the *Amhra Choluimcille* or *Laudes S. Columbae*, referred to in Intr. i. § 8, and vii. § 4. Great and supernatural benefits were believed to be obtained by the recital of this and other highly venerated poems, as for example, the *Lorica* of St. Patrick, the *Altus* of Columcille, the Calendar of Oengus, and a 'Corslet' ascribed to St. Gildas.

25. *legem*] Deut. xvii. 6, and reff.

40. *Qui adhaeret*] 1 Cor. vi. 17, Vulg.

PAGE 93. 13. *Fintenus*] 'Gente Mocumoie' *infra*; St. Fintan, Munna, Munde, or Mundus (Oct. 21). According to Adamnan and other early authorities he came to be a monk at Iona just too late for St. Columba to receive him (c. 597), but the Aberdeen Breviary represents him as entering during St. Columba's life. At the synod of Campus Albus he upheld the Irish Easter against St. Laisre of Leighlin, who nevertheless paid the highest possible tribute to his sanctity. *Ob.* Oct. 19, 635, probably buried on the third day, Oct. 21. Abbot in Argyle?

16. *dialis sophias*] Of Divine wisdom. *Dialis* is used by classical as well as by later writers, e.g. in the title *Flamen Dialis*. *Sophias* is an unaltered Greek word. In *dialis* we have a curious transference of a word originally used with reference to a Greek or Roman deity, to the God of Christian theology. We find *dialis* in St. Columba's hymn *Altus Prosator*, 'Magni Dei virtutibus appenditur dialibus.'

21. *Columb Crag*] Colgan conjectures that he may have been Colum, priest of Eanach (Enagh), near Derry, whose day is Sept. 22 in calendar. *Tr. Th.* 373, n. 22.

29. *Roboreto Calgachi*] Daire-Calgach (the oak-wood of Calgach). The old Pagan name of Derry, which in the tenth or eleventh centuries was superseded by Daire Coluimcille (*Four Masters*, s.a. 950). This name continued till the time of James I, whose charter to a company of London merchants imposed the name Londonderry. Calgach is the Galgacus of Tacitus (*Agricola*, c. 29), and is an Irish name found elsewhere, originally an adj. from *calg*, 'sword' or 'thorn', denoting 'sharp' or 'angry'; hence, as a proper name, 'fierce warrior.'

37. *Baitheneum . . . alumnum*] Intr. viii. § 1.

PAGE 94. 3. *Iouam insulam*] The island of Iou, Y, Hy, or Iona. See Intr. vii. § 2, and note on the forms of the name.

4. *in his locis*] A note of the place where the book was written.

33. *Mocumoie*] A clan-name, probably Mac-Ua-Maan, *filius nepotis Maan*. 'Mac' is son, 'Ua' grandson, later, descendant, now O'. The plural is 'Ui' (Hy), *descendants*, as in 'Hy-Neill', etc.



*Tailchanus*] Tulchan, mentioned as father of St. Fintan or Munna in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 452 iv, 602 b, n. 3; *Tr. Th.* 373 b, n. 23, 483 a, n. 50.

42. *Laginensium*] The Laginenses or Lagini were the men of Leinster. The derivations of the names of the Irish provinces are thus given (after Worsaae) by Joyce, vol. i, p. 113: 'The termination *ster* in the names of three of the provinces is the Scandinavian *stadr*, a place, which has been added to the old Irish names. Leinster is the *place* (or province) of *Laighen* or *Layn*; Ulster is contracted from *Ula-ster*, the Irish name *Uladh* being pronounced *Ulla*; and Munster from *Moon-ster*, or *Mounster* (which is the form found in a State Paper of 1515), the first syllable representing the pronunciation of the Irish *Mumhan*.' For the derivation of *Connaught* see note on lib. ii, cap. 39, p. 151, l. 16, p. 219.

PAGE 95. 7. *transnavigat*] The story is told in the Life of St. Fintan or Munna much in the same way. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 461 a.

8-12. *Haec mihi . . . monachus*] Compare end of ch. i, first paragraph, and see note on p. 92, l. 9, p. 193. The present passage is wanting in Codd. C., F., S.

9. *Oisseneo*] Possibly an abbot of Clonard, who died 654.

*Mocu Neth Corb*] Of the clan of Nia Corb.

16. *mediterranea Hiberniae parte*] Here and in iii. 9, the neighbourhood of Athlone, which is almost exactly in the centre of Ireland. Cod. D. here supplies *medi* (Meath), in Latin *Media*, 'quia in medio est insulae sita.' Giraldus, p. 144, speaks of a large stone called *Umbilicus Hiberniae*.

17. *Dair-mag*] Irish *Dar magh* or *Dear magh*, now Durrow. Bede mentions it as '*Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus roborum' (*H. E.* iii. 4). Elsewhere Adamnan uses Latin equivalents: see Index, s.v. *Roborei*.

*fundans*] Perhaps confirming an earlier foundation. See Reeves.

19. *Clonoensi*, etc.] Clonmacnoise, founded 548.

*Cerani*] St. Ciaran (Kiaran) was the founder. See Intr. v. § 6.

20. *ab agellulis*] Many of the monks appear to have been at work in the fields. Cp. Warren, p. 22.

23. *Alitherum*] Alitherus was fourth abbot of Clonmacnoise, and died in 599. Irish *Ailithir*, 'the pilgrim'.

24. *vallum*] The cashel or outer defence. See Intr. iv. § 2.

28. *pyramidem*] The word *Pyramis* is used in one passage quoted by Ducange, of the Ciborium or Altar-canopy; in *De Locis Sanctis*, ii. 4, 7, of the tombs of David and of Rachel. Here it seems to mean a square barrier or perhaps a canopy. These later senses may have arisen out of the original sense by gradual extension. The Greek *πυράμις* is supposed to be a loan-word from Egypt.

34. *amphibali*] A kind of cowl or outer garment, the same as *birrhus* and *caracalla*. In the Gallican Church it was some kind of chasuble (Ducange). Either from *ἀμφιβολος* as if 'wrapper', or

ἀμφίμαλλος, 'woolly on both sides,' which latter is favoured by the Latin forms *amphimallus* and *heteromala*, on which see Ducange. The woolly 'Irish cloak', or shag-rug, still in use in the sixteenth century, 'sheltered alike from heat and cold' (Derricke, ed. 1883, Intr. p. ix, Desc. of Plates I, IV). It was probably the lineal descendant of the old Irish woolly *casail* or 'chasuble' (Intr. iv. § 5). The legend of the imaginary 'St. Amphibalus', who had a shrine at St. Albans, and whose dust was venerated at Durham, is supposed to have arisen out of the cloak (*amphibalus*) mentioned in the fabulous Acts of St. Alban.

36. *tangeret*] Cp. ii. 6, and St. Matt. ix. 20 and xiv. 36.

PAGE 98. 17. *Erneneus, fil. Craseni*] According to the Old Irish Life, Ernán of Cluaindeochra. It was for him Columcille composed the prophecy. *Mart. Doneg.* Jan. 11.

22. *cuius revelatione*] Compare notes on p. 92, l. 9, and p. 95, l. 8.

27. *discordia*] As to the Easter controversies, see Intr. iv. § 11.

39. *breve*] The Sound is one English mile across.

PAGE 97. 3. *Cainnechus*] Surnamed Mocu Dalon, St. Cainnech, from whom the two Kilkennys derive their name; born 517, died 600; founder of Aghaboe; in Scotland called Kenneth. His day is Oct. 11.

9. *divisione*] The more likely as being the less obvious reading. It may well refer to the tempest and the calm just mentioned.

10. *professi sunt*] The same account is given in the Brussels Life of St. Cainnech, quoted in Reeves's note (ed. 1857); *Acta SS. Hib. Salm.* col. 375.

12. *Rechru*] The L-shaped rocky island now called Rathlin, about three miles off Fair Head, on the NE. coast of Ireland, called *Rechrea* in ii. 41. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 288.

15. *Columbanus, fil. Beognai*] In the title Colmanus Mocusailni, Colman Ela Mac Uí Seilli, sometimes called Colmanellus, or Columbanus, as in the text. Son of Beogna, born in Tyrone 555, d. 611; day Sept. 26. A presbyter (ii. 15), but in heading of i. 5 called *episcopus*. Patron of Kilcolmonell and Colmonell.

17. *Charybdis Brecai*] Coire Brecaín, 'Brecaín's Cauldron,' a whirlpool in the channel between Ballycastle and the island of Rathlin. Named from a tradition that Brecaín, grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was engulfed in it. Since Adamnan's day the name has been shifted to Corryvreckan, the tumultuous strait between Scarba and Jura, N.B. See O'Curry, *Lect. MS. Materials*, 257, Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 289, and Joyce, ii. 432.

26. *Cormac*] Cormac was abbot of Durrow, also a bishop and anchorite, styled 'Cormac Ua Liathain of the sea'; he is referred to in connexion with St. Columba in two ancient Irish poems. It is not known what monastery he founded. (See iii. 17.)

*nepote Lethani*] Ua Liathain, a clan-name.

27. *eremum*] See i. 20; ii. 42; Reeves, 1857, p. 366; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 179n. and reff.

31. *Modam*] The river *Moda* or Moy, in Sligo; Irish *Muaidhe*.

*Eirros Domno*] In Irish *Iorrus Domhnann*, Erris of the *Damnonii*, supposed to be a section of the Firbolgs. Now Erris in Mayo. *Iorrus* or *Irrus* = promontory.

34. *permittente*] Reeves says that 'in the Lives of Irish Saints, the formula *accepta licentia* (having taken leave or permission) generally accompanies the mention of a departure from a monastery' (ed. 1857, p. 31).

36. *Cap. VII*] This and the following chapter come under '*De bellis*', p. 88.

38. *bellum Cule Drebene*] Culedrebinae bellum, Pref. 2, p. 87.

PAGE 98. 3. *bellum . . . Ondemone*] Fought against the Cruithne by the Northern Hy-Neill, in 563. The name *Ondemone* has not been explained.

4. *Conallo*, etc.] The king of the Scottish Dalriada who first gave Columba leave to settle in Iona. He died in 574.

8. *Ainmori*, etc.] Irish over-king in 568, cousin of St. Columba. *fili Maic Erce*] Sons of Muircertach, whose matronymic was Mac Erca, as being son of Muiredach by Erca, daughter of Loarn. See Muiredachus in Index.

*Domnallus et Forcus*] Irish joint-kings in 565.

9. *Cruithnii*] The Cruithne, Dal Araidhe, or Irish Picts. See note on i. 1, p. 90, l. 20, p. 192.

*Echodius Laib*] Echoid Laib, king of the Cruithne or Irish Picts.

12. *Miathorum*] The Miathi or Maeatae were a British tribe dwelling by the northern Roman vallum, the Caledonians being beyond them.

16. *Diormitium*] St. Columba's faithful attendant Diormit is frequently mentioned. See Index.

*Cloccam pulsa*] *Clocca* is the old Irish *cloc*, later *clog*, a bell, akin to the English *clock*, and probably of echoic origin. In the sense of 'bell' the A.S. *clucge* occurs once (in Alfred's *Baeda*, iv. 23, referring to a bell at the monastery of Hacanor or Hackness), re-appearing in Caxton's *Golden Legend* and then surviving as late as 1715, apparently derived from Old French or Dutch without any historic continuity with the Anglo-Saxon (*N.E.D.*). On Irish ecclesiastical bells, see Intr. iv. §§ 8, 9. The identical bell used on this occasion is possibly still in existence (Warren, 92).

19. *Aidano*] Aedhan (dim. of Aedh) son of Gabhran, king or lord of the Scottish Dalriada; he succeeded in 574, and opposed Aedh son of Ainmire at Drumceatt (see Aidus rex in Index).

25. *enarravit*] This is very like Bede's story of St. Cuthbert's vision at Carlisle, when he saw King Ecgfrith slain in battle with the Picts. *Vita S. C.* cap. 27.

26. *Cap. IX*] This and the following six chapters are included above, p. 88, under the heading, '*De regibus.*'

29. *regem*] The king mentioned in the last chapter.

40. *regnabunt*] For Columba's prophecy during the 'ordination' of Aedhan, see iii. 5.

PAGE 99. 7. *Domnallus*] Domhnall surnamed Brecc ('speckled' or 'freckled'), or fil. Aído, king of Ireland. Son of king Aedh, who was son of king Ainmire or Ainnmurech.

*Aído*] Later Aedho, the old Irish genitive of Aedh, as in title of ch. 13. Cp. note on p. 87, l. 13, p. 191.

8. *Dorso Cete*] In Druim Ceatt, or Drumceatt, the ridge of Ceatt, a place in Co. Derry, where the famous convention was held in 575. See Intr. vii. § 4. Ceatt, Cet, or Keth is a man's name.

*nutritores*] See iii. 2 n., p. 166, l. 14, p. 225.

17. *lectum*] An unusual kind of death for an Irish sovereign at this time.

21. *Scandlanum*] Scandlanus, son of Colman. In most Irish authorities called Scanlann Mor, son of Cenfaeladh, but all the MSS. have the reading in the text.

22. *in vinculis retentum*] St. Columba tried to effect the liberation of Scanlann. See Intr. vii. § 4.

PAGE 100. 1. *Artdamuirchol*] Ard na Muir chon, 'height of the sea dogs', now Ardnamurchan, in Argyle.

*Laisranum*] Laisran, son of Feradach, was first cousin to St. Columba. Abbot of Iona 600-605, *ob.* Sept. 16. Previously Abbot of Durrow. See Intr. viii. § 2.

3. *supra memoratis*] This shows that the title is an integral part of the work.

7. *Scotia*] Synonymous with *Hibernia* in the next sentence, and again in cap. 17, and *passim*. See note on p. 87, l. 16, p. 191.

10. *Muirbolc Paradisi*] Identified by Dr. Skene with Port-na-Murloch, a sheltered harbour in Lismore in Argyle. *Murbolgh* = sea-inlet. Lismore is said to be Gaelic *Lios*, garden, and *mor*, great; hence perhaps the epithet *Paradisi*. Reeves, 1874, App. 325.

14. *De Oingusio fil. Aído Commāni*] Aengus surnamed Bronbachal. The Annals of Ulster have, A. C. 648, *Mors Oengusa Bronbachlae regis Ceniuil Coirpri*. The Cenel Cairbre were a tribe, whence Carbury, in north Sligo.

25. *Bronbachal*] Interpreted *baculi dolorosi*, and supposed to refer to the pilgrim's staff. This Aengus was also called *an naomh*, 'the religious.' See Reeves's note.

28. *Aíduis Slane*] Aedh Slane, eldest son of Diarmait, king or lord of the Southern Hy-Neill, named from the river Slaine, near which he was born. He consented to the grant of Kells to St. Columba, succeeded his father, and, about 580, granted a site for a church at Lynally at the instance of St. Columba.

33. *parricidalis*] Murderous. The term was applied to the murder of near relations.

37. *vaticinationem*] It was his nephew whom he slew. See the next note.

38. *Suibneum*] Suibhne, son of Columbanus or Colman Mor; he was assassinated in 600 by his uncle Aedh Slane, and his death was avenged by Conall his son, in 604. Hence an Irish rime

to this effect:—‘Conall slew Aedh Slaine, Aedh Slaine slew Suibhne.’

PAGE 101. 1. *Roderco fil. Tothail*] Rhydderch, son of Tudwal, a British king.

*Petra Cloithe*] The Alcluith of Bede (*H. E.* i. 1) called in the thirteenth century from its British inhabitants Dun-Breatan, now Dumbarton.

5. *Lugbeum Mocumin*] This Lugbe and his brother Lugne are frequently mentioned. See Index. Mocumin is their tribe-name.

12. *plumatiuncula*] A feather pillow or bed.

22. *sabbati dies*] The ancient application of the term *Sabbatum* to Saturday survives to this day in the Roman service-books, and in modern languages, as Ital. *Sabbato*, Fr. *Samedi* (*sabbati dies*). It was first applied to Sunday in the twelfth century, figuratively, when the observation of the real Sabbath had ceased among Christians. Heylin (*Hist. of Sabbath*, pt. ii, ch. v. 13) asserts that the phrase is first found in Petrus Alfonsus in the twelfth century: ‘Dies Dominica . . . Christianorum sabbatum est.’

23. *sexta feria*] Friday is *feria sexta*, Sunday being *dies Dominica*, Monday *feria secunda*, and so on to Saturday, or *Sabbatum*. As *octavaque die* refers to the Sabbath in this connexion, it would seem that this burial took place on the day after death. *Feria* in classical Latin is a festival, whence ‘fair-day’, but in ecclesiastical use it has come to mean a weekday.

25. *Glasdercus*] From the Irish *Glas Derg*, Grey-eyed.

31. *Colcius*, Colgius, Colca, or Colcu, an Irish saint (Colgan, *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20, p. 380), de nepotibus Fechureg sive Fechreg (*Ui Fiachrach*), son of Aidus Draigniche, ‘of the blackthorn.’

37. *religiosa*] Religious in the ordinary sense.

40. *Scotiam*] I. e. *Hiberniam*; see next sentence.

PAGE 102. 3. *primule*] ‘In the first instance’ (*De Locis Sanctis*, iii. 4).

4. *peccatum*] Said in Aengus, *De Matribus SS. Hiberniae*, to have been adultery (Reeves).

5. *sanata*] As there is no mention of any bodily sickness, the word probably relates here to spiritual healing, as in Ps. cxlvii. 3, A.V., cxlvi. 3, Jer. iii. 22, viii. 11, etc., Vulg.

7. *Colgius vero*] This has a separate heading in the *Capitulationes*.

10. *primarius*] See Glossary.

11. *pincernam*] *Cellarius* (or *cellerarius*) is a usual term for a monastic butler.

12. *hauritoriumque*, etc.] Dr. Reeves says here (ed. 1854), ‘The meaning of this obscure passage seems to be: When you see your butler making merry in a supper of his friends, and twirling the ladle round in the strainer, etc. The difficulty arises from our imperfect knowledge concerning the domestic utensils of the early natives.’ He takes *hauritorium* to be ‘ladle’, and *collum* to be for *colum*, ‘strainer.’ But render, ‘whirling round the flagon by its neck.’

18. *Mocuruntir*] *Maccu* or *Moccu*, race.

41. *Ethicam insulam*] 'Ethica insula sive terra' is 'the corn-bearing isle', from *eth* or *ith*, corn; in Irish Saints' Lives, terra, insula, or regio Hyth, or Hyth. From the Irish *Tir itha*, answering to *Terra Hyth*, we have now, through various stages, *Tiree*, the name of a sandy but fertile island, about twenty miles NW. of and visible from Iona. *Ethicum pelagus* is mentioned below, in this same chapter. Reeves, 1874, Appendix, 303-317.

PAGE 103. 11. *ora*] Plural poetically used for singular, like *pectora, rura*, etc. Kennedy's Vergil, 1881, p. 630.

33. *Baitanus*] Irish *baotan*; Baithene is *baioithin* (late forms).

*Niath Taloiric*] *Niath* = 'champion', *Tolorg* is a Pictish name.

39. *minabit*] *Minare*, to drive animals, occurs in Is. xi. 6 and Jer. xxxi. 24, Vulg., also in passages quoted by Reeves from Lives of Saints. The same word is used in Acts xviii. 16, 'Et minavit eos a tribunali.' Fr. *mener*.

41. *cellulae*] The word *cellula* is common in the Book of Armagh, and appears to denote a small monastic house.

42. *Lathreginden*] Not identified; probably near Derry.

PAGE 104. 4. *confugeret*] This does not point to the mediaeval use of Sanctuary, but is rather a case of war or vendetta. For a very graphic description of Durham in like case in 1091, see the *Auctarium* appended to Symeon, cap. ix or x, translated in the Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert, 521-5812.

10. *Mailodranus*] Mael-Odhraín, 'Servus Odrani.'

11. *Mocurin*] Or *Mocucurin*. *Maccu* or *Moccu*, descendants.

15. *Hinbinam insulam*] Some island probably not far from Iona, not yet identified with certainty. But Dr. W. F. Skene has shown good reasons for supposing it to be Eilean na Naomh (Isle of Saints). *Hinba* and *Ethica insula* were the most important islands connected with Iona in St. Columba's time, and on Eilean na Naomh are some remarkable remains of a rectangular church and of three beehive cells. (Reeves's *Adamnan*, ed. 1874, App. I, 318-324.) See *Elena insula* (ii. 18 n.) and *Muirbulcmar* (iii. 23 n.).

16. *indulgeretur*] This relaxation in honour of a visitor appears again in ch. 26, where see note.

22. *equae*] Reeves refers to Colgan for a similar prediction by St. Enda concerning one who refused hospitality. *Acta S.S.* 707, xxvi.

24. *craticula*] A hurdle, grate, or grill, hence a gridiron, here some wooden substitute for one. Pocock in his *Irish Tour*, 1752, ed. Stokes, Dublin 1891, p. 37, says, 'I went to the Causeway late, and Mr. Duncane came and dined with me, and sent a fresh salmon which was roasted before a turf fire; it was cut in pieces and stuck on five or six sticks, set in the ground round the fire, and sometimes taken up and turn'd.' See Hole's *Tour in Ireland*, 1892, p. 158, and illustration.

35. *Lugaido*] *Lugaid* the messenger appears again in ii. 5, 38.

39. *Maleam insulam*] The island of Mull, separated from Iona by the narrow Sound.

PAGE 105. 11. *leges poenitentiae*] The penitential canons, as laid down in the Penitentials. That of Cummean (not the biographer of Columba, but the famous advocate of Rome in the Paschal controversy, and probably a monk of Durrow) is an abridgement of the earlier penitential canons; it has been printed in Fleming's *Coll. Sacra*, 197-210, and in Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, etc., 460 sq.

13. *duodecim annis*] A usual term of monastic penance or service. Reeves refers to ch. 26 and iii. 23; Bede, *H. E.* v. 20, *Hist. Abb. Uirem.* §§ 7, 14, and *Cod. Marshii*, fo. 1:8 a, b.

22. *Lea*] In Irish *Li* or *Lee*; the district is on the west of the Bann, near Coleraine.

24. *Turtrei*] The tribes called Hy Tuirtre and Fir Li (*Lea*) had a common ancestry. Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 82 n.

28. *emendet*] Note the practice of going through a newly copied MS. with another person in order to correct it if necessary, and see the last sentence in Book iii.

32. *I vocali*] The letter by which St. Brendan of Birr is said to have indicated to St. Columba the place of his future sojourn. See Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 462 a; Ussher, *Wks.* vi, p. 240; Innes, *Civ. and Eccl. Hist.* p. 170. (Reeves.)

38. *focum*] Probably the only fire in the monastery, which would be the kitchen fire, most likely one of turf burning on a hearth.

PAGE 106. 4. *ascella*] for *axilla*, 'inter brachium et latus,' ii. 8.

5. *cecidit*] This story affords a good example of the way in which ordinary foresight might be mistaken for prophetic insight. Very probably St. Columba knew by experience that both Lugbe and the guest mentioned in the following chapter were careless or clumsy in their habits.

8. *clamatum est*] So in ch. 26, 27, 32, 43. Strong voices, even those of shepherds calling to their dogs, or of boys at play, can be heard across the Sound when the wind is favourable. Reeves mentions the use of visible signals, as of smoke from an ignited bundle of heather.

9. *tuguriolo*] St. Columba's own cell. Cf. i. 35, ii. 16, iii. 15, 22.

*tabulis suffulto*] Supported by boards forming a raised platform, probably reached by a few steps: perhaps the *eminentior locus* mentioned, p. 179. The cell itself was no doubt made of boards, or of wattles.

10. *subtilis sensus*] Of delicate perception.

11. *corniculum*] Representations of ancient inkhorns appear in illuminated MSS. See Intr. iv. § 13.

13. *gravem*] Troublesome.

15. *molestus*] Dangerous. These epithets are apparently employed half in joke.

21. *tertia feriae*] Tuesday; see note on p. 101, l. 22, p. 199.

22. *ieiunare proponimus*] Ussher thought it very probable that the Wednesday and Friday fasts were introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick (*Wks.* vi, p. 444). St. Augustine refers to the custom

(*Ad Casulanum*, Ep. 36 or 86; Migne, *P. L.* 33, 150). St. Aidan brought it over from Iona to Lindisfarne (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 5) and Columbanus's Penitential refers to it (cap. 13). Colgan speaks of the observation of the Wednesday fast in Ireland in his time. *Tr. Th.* 377, note 71. In the early Western Church generally the Wednesday and Friday and also the Saturday (*ieiunium Sabbati*) were observed, but the Wednesday and Saturday fasts were kept less and less strictly, and at last discontinued except in the Ember-weeks, and on Rogation Wednesday and Easter Eve. See Ducange, s. v. *ieiunium*.

23. *solvetur ieiunium*] Cf. ch. 21. Both cases point to great discretionary power in heads of Irish monasteries. There is an Irish canon *De solvendo ieiunio*, 'humanitatis causa' (D'Achery, *Spicileg.* i. 494, Paris, 1723).

27. *Brendeno Mocualti*] The famous St. Brendan of Clonfert, on whom see *Intr.* v. § 4. His tribe-name was Mac Ua Alta.

*valde religiosus*] Yet, it appears, 'molestus', because his coming would involve a relaxation of discipline.

35. *carnalia medicamenta*] Note the resort to the monastery for medical treatment. *Carnalis* here means 'after the flesh', 'earthly,' as in ii. 39.

PAGE 107. 4. *Romani iuris*] Subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Empire. Notker Balbulus, in relating this same prophecy and its fulfilment, gives the name of the city as Nova, now Citta Nuova, in Istria. (*Martyrol.* Jun. 9.)

8. *triturationem*] The grinding of corn by hand-querns seems to have been part of the daily labour of the monks, as at Clonard under St. Finnian; see *Intr.* v. § 3.

24. *adventantes*] There are other references in *Lives of Saints* to frequent intercourse between Gaul and Britain and Ireland. Gallic traders visited Clonmacnoise before 548-9 (*Vit. S. Kierani*, Cod. Marshii, c. 31).

27. *Caput Regionis*] Cantyre (Irish *Cenn-tire* or *Cind-tire*), 'hoc est,' says Buchanan, 'Regionis Caput.'

*pergens*] The distance from Iona to the nearest part of Cantyre is about fifty miles by sea.

28. *barcae*] *Barca*, a ship, occurs in Paulinus Nolanus, c. 400 (Migne, *P. L.* 61, col. 617). It is probably identical with *bark*, *barge*, and the Old Irish *barc*.

39. *maioris domus*] Called *monasterium rotundum* in the heading of iii. 15, where see note.

41. *Roboreti Campi*] 'Oakwood Plain', Dair-magh, Durrow.

PAGE 108. 1. *pyra*] Properly a funeral pile, but here preferred to *ignis* as being of Greek origin.

6. *audiens*] So St. Caimnech, ii. 13, p. 133.

14. *supereminet*] The highest spot in Iona is Dun-I (330 ft.), but Dr. Reeves thought that Cnoc Mor, which immediately overlooks the village, was more likely to be the hill referred to here. Cp. iii. 23 n.



17. *sapientem virum*] *Sui*, or sage, is an epithet applied to ecclesiastics in Irish annals.

20. *portum*] Probably Port-Ronain, the present usual landing-place, or Port na Muintir, which is less commodious, but nearer to the monastery.

26. *coram omnibus*] Confession was public rather than private, optional rather than obligatory, and absolution was deferred till penance had been fulfilled. There is no trace of private confession as a preparation before celebrating or communicating (Warren, *Intr. ch. ii, § 35*).

31. *spernit*] '*Non despicias*' in Ps. l. 19 (Vulg. li. 17). '*Spernit*' comes from the *Psalterium Romanum*. Adamnan usually quotes the Vulgate. This quotation may have come through some liturgical use of the passage.

32. *Campo Lunge*] a subordinate monastery, probably adjacent to the little creek called *Port-na-Lung*, in *Ethica terra* (Tiree) where Soroby now is.

*praepositum*] That Baithene was at the head of this penitential house (see ii. 39) appears again in ch. 41 and iii. 8. See above, *Intr. viii. § 1*.

38. *Cailtanum*] Cailtan, a monk presiding over Diuni's cell (on Loch Awe?).

40. *hodieque*] '*Even to-day*'.

41. *Abae fluminis*] Probably Loch Awe is meant. See Skene, in Reeves, 1874, p. 327. In iii. 14 we have *Nisae fluminis lacus*, which was certainly Loch Ness.

PAGE 109. 38. *voverunt*] The novitiate appears to have been dispensed with in this case.

PAGE 110. 11. *insula Scia*] The isle of Skye.

14. *gentilis*] Applied to the heathen Picts in ch. 37, ii. 11 *bis*, 27, 33; so *gentilicus*, ii. 34, iii. 14.

*naturale . . . bonum*] The moral law of nature, i.e. of the natural reason; so again in iii. 14. Cp. Rom. ii. 14, 15.

18. *Geonae cohortis*] Probably a Pictish corps deriving its name from some place unknown; the little island of Gunna, between Tiree and Coll, seems too small.

20. *per interpretem*] St. Columba would seem not to have acquired the Pictish language at this time. We have seen how at the court of King Brude he at first availed himself of the help of friends who were Irish Picts. *Introd. vii. § 3*. We find a reference to the same diversity of tongues in ii. 32. Bede states the five (written) languages of Britain to be '*Anglorum, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum*' (*H. E. i. 1*), and the four (spoken) tongues to be '*Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum*' (*Ib. iii. 6*). Some of the Saxon Chronicles speak of English, Brit-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish, and Book-Latin. In the Amhra of Columcille is a stanza referring to the labours of the Saint for thirty years among 'the people of Alba to the Ictian Sea (British Channel), the Gaedhil, Cruithneans, Saxons, Saxo-Brits'.

23. *lapidum acervo*] This example of Christian burial in a cairn is remarkable, but it is to be noted that the old man was buried by his comrades, who may be supposed to have been heathens. The same custom, however, still survives in Ireland and Scotland, for in many parts they make a cairn over the spot where any one has come to an untimely end, and every one who passes is expected to add a stone, as in N. Lincolnshire, c. 1840. But there are other early Christian examples, as in Tirechán (Stokes, *Trip.* 322), 'Et sepeliuit illum aurigam Totum Caluum, id est *Totmáel*, et congregauit lapides erga sepulcrum,' and the epitaph 'Carautius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum' (*sic*) (Hübner, *Insc. Chr.* No. 136).

24. *cernitur*] Sepulchral barrows were usually placed in the most conspicuous situations available.

26. *Dobur Artbrananí*] An unidentified rivulet in the Isle of Skye. Dobur, later Dobhar, is *water*, both in Gaelic and Cymric; later Welsh, Dwr.

27. *accolis*] Properly neighbours, but here and in ch. 35 and ii. 27, used for resident inhabitants. See Glossary.

28. *transmotata*] See Glossary.

31. *Britanniae sive Britannicum Dorsum*] Drum-Alban, the mountain chain dividing Perthshire and Argyle, ending in the Grampian hills, and forming the backbone or water-parting of Scotland and the division between the Picts and the Scots.

33. *stagnum*] The *Capitulationes*, p. 89, give the name as 'Stagnum Loch Diae', which has not been identified unless it be Lochandu.

36. *in domum*] Codd. B. and Cotton have the ordinary construction 'posuistis in domo'.

*aduehite*] A coracle could easily be carried about, and it would seem that in this case the party had one with them for crossing lakes and navigable rivers. On reaching this stream they either forded it at once, leaving the coracle behind them for the night, or else they had sent it over beforehand, themselves remaining where they had arrived.

40. *pulsat*] Nudges, to wake him up.

PAGE III. 6. *De Gallano filio Fachtní*] A local administrator in connexion with Iona.

7. *dioecesi*] There were no episcopal dioceses in Ireland at this time. *Dioecesis* here denotes the district or province under the charge of a local administrator acting under the superior of the mother church in a large monastic missionary system. Colga may or may not have been a bishop.

9. *tuguriolo*] See note on p. 106, l. 9, p. 201.

*Colcio*] Colcius, Colgu, or Colga, son of Cellach, presided over the district, apparently with Gallanus under him. Colgion and Cellaig (in the heading) are Irish genitives.

10. *tenacem*] Grasping, as an unprincipled person in his position might easily be.

11. *praepositis*] It is not clear how far *primarius* and *praepositus* were synonymous; a *praepositus* was the head of a cell (i. 30, 31),

a *primarius* seems to have been the same, perhaps with some supremacy or jurisdiction over other *præpositi*.

13. *tabula*] Probably a *tabula cerata*. See Intr. iv. § 13.

19. *Artchain*] *Ard chain*, 'fair height,' a hill in Tíree not now identified.

20. *supra memoratus*] I. e. in the heading, as frequently.

21. *Aidum Nigrum*] Aedh Dubh, son of Suibhne; he was chieftain of the Dal Araidhe in 565, king of Uladh 581, and died 588.

23. *habitu*] The Irish annals contain many instances of royal persons taking the monastic habit; note that in this case it was only for a time, as a penance.

27. *regnatorem*] Monarch of all Ireland, whose regal seat was at Tara, and who was superior over the kings of the provinces, as they were over the chieftains or petty 'kings' under them.

29. *tempus*] Seven years was the prescribed time in Ireland for penance 'sub regula monasterii' after homicide (D'Achery, *Spicileg.* i. 497, Par. 1723). The same period is mentioned in ii. 39.

30. *accito episcopo*] It was of course impossible to obtain a presbyter without a bishop, though, as now, the act of the bishop was 'with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery'. In this case the bishop seems to have asked the presbyter to lay his hand on first, as head of the monastery, and so to sanction an act which he on his part was not very willing to perform. Note further that ordination by one bishop was sufficient, and in accordance with primitive custom, though it must be safer to have more than one.

33. *carnaliter*] With mere human affection. Cp. 2 Cor. v. 16.

39. *computrescet*] 'The notion was probably borrowed from Job xxxi. 22, and was very general among the Irish' (Reeves, who gives several instances). One place where a hand was buried was called *Carn-lamha*, the cairn of the hand.

PAGE 112. 8. *dexter*] So A., B., for *dextera* (*manus*).

9. *Ommon*] Possibly 'Sanda near the Mull of Kintyre, the old name of which was Avoyñ'. Skene, in Reeves, 1874, p. 328.

13. *disperiit*] This death of Aedh Dubh (A.D. 588) is mentioned in all the principal Irish annals. The lake was probably Lough Neagh.

23. *Cuuleilne*] Probably *Insulae secessus*. Not precisely identified.

24. *campulum*] The *Machar* or plain, the most level and productive part of the island. See ii. 28, iii. 16.

30. *dispensator*] At other times Baithene was head of a monastic house in Tíree, but at this time he seems to have been holding an office in Iona.

37. *florum*] Cf. *Vit. Tripart. S. Patr.* (ed. Stokes), p. 255; *Vita a Jocelino*, in *Tr. Th.*, cap. 192, p. 108. A miraculous fragrance is often mentioned in connexion with the tombs of Saints.

PAGE 113. 23. *mille passus*] In the ancient Irish Life in the Leabhar Breac, 31 b (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 478), the distance has grown to 1,500 paces, and that when Columba was a boy.

37. *Brudei regis munitionem*] See above, Intr. vii. § 3, and lib. ii. 33, 35.

39. *vespertinales laudes*] Called *vespertinalis missa* in iii. 23. On this occasion it would seem that Vespers were sung in the open air. See above, Intr. vii. § 3.

PAGE 114. 1. *psalmum*] Ps. xlv according to the Hebrew and English order, Vulg. xlv: *Eructavit cor meum*.

9. *currui insidentem*] 'The memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh make frequent mention of his chariot, and even name his driver (see Index Rerum in *Tripartite*, s. v. *Chariot*, and Gwynn, s. v. *Currus*). St. Columba used such a conveyance in Ireland (ii. 43). On the ancient *currus* of the Irish, see O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* iv, p. 148. A spirited drawing of an ancient car is given from a monument at Meigle in Chalmers' *Sculptured Monuments of Angus* (Pl. 18, Edinb. 1848)', Reeves. There is a woodcut of the Meigle chariot in Huyshe, p. 174. We find *currus vimineus*, and *currus duarum rotarum* in *Tr. Th.* 515, 517.

10. *Campum Breg*] Magh Breg, a territory in Meath, the name of which has survived in that of 'Slieve Breg', a hill in NE. Meath.

15. *praetersoria*] Stray or trespassing animals?

*maceria*] A cashel or walled enclosure. The kings of Cashel are styled *Reges Macerine* in a charter of c. 1004 entered in the Book of Armagh, and the fortified farms of the Campagna in Italy are still known by the name of *Masseria*, Low Latin *Maseria*, and *Masura*, for *Mansura*. Cf. Ps. lxi. 4, in the Vulgate, lxii. 3, A.V.

22. *Nemano*] The same name occurs at i. 21, ii. 4. The Four Masters mention Neman abbot of Lismore in Scotland in 610.

32. *Cainle*] Not identified. Cp. ii. 17.

34. *presbytero*] Compare the story in Symeon of Durham, iii. 10.

PAGE 115. 1. *Trioit*] Trevet, in co. Meath. In an ancient historical tale it is stated that when Art was buried, three sods were dug in honour of the Trinity, and that hence the place was named. There are many such triple combinations in Irish place-names, supposed to have reference to the Trinity. See Joyce, *Irish Names*, 1891, vol. i, pp. 133, 261.

2. *quendam audiens*] Implying that the service was in an audible voice.

3. *conficientem*] *Conficere* is used in this connexion by St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Heliodorum* and *Ep. ad Evangelum*, Migne, *P. L.* 22, cols. 352, 1193) and was not uncommon. Reeves cites many instances at ch. 44.

11. *coram omnibus*] See note on p. 108, l. 26, p. 203.

16. *Mocudruidi*] An obscure tribe-name.

24. *Coloso*] Colonsay, here probably the greater island of the same name.

26. *insulam*] Reeves says most probably Erraid isle, about two miles SE. of Iona.

*marini vituli*] Pliny calls seals *vituli*, from their cry (*N. H.* ix,

cap. 13), and the same term is applied in the *Libellus de Ortu S. Cuthb.* xiv, xviii, rendered cele (and seele) calf in the Metrical Life. They are called *phocae* below. Seals were extensively used for food in the Hebrides in the 18th century, the hams being considered the best portions. Seal-flesh was esteemed as food in England formerly, and is still. See *Memorials of Fountains*, Surt. Soc., vol. iii, p. xii n.

40. *sex modios*] So *bis terni* in ii. 3.

PAGE 116. 1. *in exequiis eius*] The gifts of the Saint were consumed at the funeral feast of the marauding neighbour.

2. *xenia*] Properly gifts or presents made to a guest (*ξένος*), hence any present, particularly one of a customary or ceremonial kind, made whether from superiors to inferiors, or the reverse. In i. 50, we find St. Columba publicly blessing *xenia* sent in his honour, even *coram episcopo*. *Exenium*, see readings of Codd. B., D., is a form often found elsewhere.

5. *Stagnum Ceí*] Loch Ce, now Lough Key in co. Roscommon.

6. *Bos*] At ii. 19 called Bo, Irish Buill, now Boyle, a river running from Lough Key to the Shannon.

7. *Scoticus poeta*] An Irish Bard. The Bards are regarded by the old Irish historians as the representatives in the Irish Church of the old Pagan *magi* or druids. See above, Intr. i. § 8.

10. *modulabiliter*] 'Cum modulatione' (iii. 12), understood by some of harp accompaniment, but in iii. 12 at any rate the musical intonation or chant used in the mass, and so probably any melody. The songs of the bards were usually accompanied. See above, Intr. i. § 8 n.

19. *Tigernis*] An Irish word with a Latin inflection. The Irish *tigherna*, a chieftain, is connected with *tig*, a house, as *dominus* with *domus*.

25. *Lugbeus Mocublai*] Lugbe of the tribe Mocublai (Mac-Ua-Blae); Lugneus Mocublai occurs iii. 15, 22.

29. *Cellrois*] Now Magheross in Monaghan. 'Kylrose it hat as Ik hard say.' Barbour, *Brus*, x. 252.

30. *Maugdornorum*] The Maugdorni were a tribe descended from Mughdorn dubh, whence Crich Mughdorna, a territory in Monaghan, now Cremorne and Farney.

40. *Colman Canis*] A nobleman otherwise unknown. *Cu*, canis, frequently occurs in Irish names.

PAGE 117. 1. *Ronanus*] Another unknown chieftain.

*Anteriorum*] Antiores is the name given by Adamnan to the Airtheara (Easterns), a tribe inhabiting the territory afterwards known as East Oriel or Uriel (anciently Airghialla) in Ulster. See Indairthir, iii. 7. Reeves cites here many passages from Irish writers which show that they, like the Hebrews, regarded the cardinal points as having reference to the rising sun, and not, of course, to the magnetic needle, of which they knew nothing. Thus *Anterior* (Irish *Airthir*, Hebrew קדם) is equivalent to *Orientalis*. Hence E., W., S., N., were front, back, right, left. See Ussher's *Wks.* v. 103, vi. 114, 187; Zeuss, *Gr. Celt.* 67 n., 283, 566.

11. *sacramentum*] Here and in ch. 50, and iii. 6, 7, 22, 'a holy secret'. 'Aliquando dicitur Sacramentum, quasi sacrum secretum, velut Sacramentum Incarnationis et huiusmodi.'—Hugo de S. Victor, cited by Ducange. For a full discussion on the word see Plummer's *Bede*, lvii, n.

27. *caelum*] 2 Cor. xii. 2, on which the Irish commentator Sedulius remarks, 'Hoc de se humilitatis causa, quasi in alterius persona loquitur.' (*In S. Pauli Epp.* p. 276, Basil., 1538; Migne, *P. L.* 103, col. 179.)

36. *Cronano*] Possibly the Cronan mentioned by Colgan, *Acta SS.* Feb. 9, p. 302.

38. *Muminensium*] The Muminenses were the men of Munster. See note on *Laginensium*, i. 2, p. 94, l. 42, p. 195.

PAGE 118. 1. *iussus*] 'Bidden' or invited to celebrate, according to the direction of the Council of Arles, 'ut peregrino episcopo locus sacrificandi detur,' and of the fourth Council of Carthage to the same effect.

2. *duo presbyteri*] It appears to have been usual at Iona for two priests to act as concelebrants. See Warren, 128, § 19.

3. *frangerent*] The scriptural expression here and below probably has a special reference to the Eucharistic fraction, or it may be simply a synonym for celebrating.

5. *episcopali ritu*] A bishop seems to have always celebrated *solus*, without a concelebrant, except, perhaps, where another bishop was present. The exact contrary was formerly the rule in the Latin Church, namely that when a bishop celebrated any priests present should unite with him in the words of consecration and in the manual acts (*Martène, De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iii. 8. Amalarius, i, cap. 12). This practice survives in the present Roman ordination of priests so far as concerns the recitation of the words.

8. *veneratio*] Taking this chapter with ch. 36, and with ii. 1, nothing can be plainer than that St. Columba fully recognized the three distinct orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, and considered that the proper function of a bishop was to confer Holy Orders, and that a bishop or a priest could celebrate, while a deacon could only provide the elements for the celebration, and, moreover, that he considered the greatest veneration to be due to the episcopal order as higher than his own.

15. *Ernanum*] 'Ernanus presbyter' is mentioned in the Epilogus of Cod. B. as 'sancti avunculus Columbae', and one of his twelve followers; he was a brother of Ethnea, the mother of the saint.

30. *canaba*] A kiln 'ad spicas siccandas et trituras', *Vita S. Cannechi*, c. 33, *Acta SS. Hib. Salm.*, col. 379. It further appears from the Life of St. Kieran, c. 12, cited by Reeves, that a *navicula* was placed in *canabam* for repairs. See Glossary s. v.

31. *crux*] The cross called 'Maclean's' may mark the site. We are told in iii. 23 of a cross fixed in a millstone by the wayside; it has always been usual to mark memorable spots by setting up crosses. So in the Life of St. Patrick 'ubi nunc usque crux habetur in signum' (*Tripartite*, 276; *Anal. Boll.* i. 559). Hence the

great number of places in Ireland that have taken their names from crosses, over 200 altogether, most of which commemorate the erection of crosses, though a few may be from cross-roads or a transverse position (Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, i. 327). Sometimes a wooden cross was set up, as by St. Oswald (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 2), and where St. Wilfrid's body was washed (*Offices of St. W.*, Ripon, 1893, p. 27; Eddii *Vita Wilfridi*, cap. 63).

37. *Coire Salchain*] Now Corry, in Morvern. The term *Coire*, a cul-de-sac or hollow in a mountain, is almost peculiar to the Scotch Highlands, and there are many Sallachans in the Highlands now, named from willows.

40. *Crogreth*] A lake not identified, unless it be Loch Creeran in Upper Lorne.

PAGE 119. 3. *homuncule*] Note how many diminutives Adamnan uses while representing Columba as consoling the poor man with kind and endearing words. *Homuncule* is here something like the Durh. and Northd. 'Canny man', or 'Canny bairn'; see *N. E. D.* s. v. *Canny*, 9.

9. *Goreo*] Goreus probably represents the Irish Guaire or Gowry.

13. *Korkureti*] Possibly Corkaree, in Westmeath; if so, a form of *Corca Raidhe*, the race of Raidhe.

26. *casu*, etc.] Render, 'by chance one day sitting by a boat, was scraping the bark from a spear-shaft, or rust from a spear-head (?), with his own knife . . . and, the same knife being carelessly left on the ground in that sudden movement, his knee was severely wounded by lighting on it' (kneeling on the edge). But see Glossary, s. vv. *Cristilia*, *Offensus*.

PAGE 120. 4. *grus*] Giraldus mentions large flocks of cranes in Ireland, of 100 or so (*Topogr. Hib.*, Dist. i, cap. 14). Reeves gives several references to legends of Irish Saints concerning their familiarity with cranes and other birds. But stories of favourite animals abound in the lives of the saints of all nations.

34. *conductum*] Held A. D. 575. See Intr. vii. § 4.

35. *Comgellus abbas*] His tribe-name was Mocu Aridi (*Maccu Araidhe*). St. Comgall, founder and first abbot of Benchor or Bangor in Ulster, b. 517, founded Bangor 558, and a church in Tیره 565; he died 602, May 10, his day. Reeves, on iii. 17, 1857, p. 220.

PAGE 121. 4. *cognationales amici*] St. Columba's family friends were a branch of the Northern Ui- or Hy-Neill, descended from Conall Gulban, whose great-grandson St. Columba was; their home was Tir-Connell, now Donegal.

*secundum carnem cognati*] St. Comgall's relations were the Cruithne or Irish Picts or Dal-Araidhe, who inhabited the southern half of Antrim.

5. *Nellis Nepotes*] The Ui-Neill, or Hy-Neill, the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland, A. D. 358-405. On the *Cruithini* or *Cruithnii* see notes on pp. 90, 98; pp. 192, 197.

6. *munitione Cethirni*] Dun Ceithirn, the fortress of Cethirn,

identified with the Giant's Sconce, near Coleraine. Dr. Reeves gives an interesting account of this fortified hill.

12. *victor sublimatus est*] Render 'came off victorious'. Domhnall was grandson of Ainmire, who was Columba's first cousin.

14. *mihi Adamnanno*] The writer was in his fifth year at the date of the battle of Dun Ceithirn, A. D. 629.

20. *Cambas*] Otherwise Camas or Camus, a name common in Ireland and North Britain, from *Cam*, crooked, with formative -*as* for abstract noun, hence a bend in a river or a curved bay. St. Comgall's monastery was named from the curve in the river Bann near which it was situated, two miles above Coleraine.

32. *Conallus*] His date is not known.

*Culerathin*] Cuil-rathain, *secessus filicis*, Fern cover or corner, now Coleraine on the Bann, in Londonderry. Joyce mentions five other places whose names were originally the same, vol. i, p. 531.

33. *Campi Eilni*] Magh Elne, between the rivers Bush and Bann, now nearly represented by the NE. Liberties of Coleraine.

37. *platea*] The enclosed courtyard in which the isolated cells of a Celtic monastery stood. Intr. iv. § 2. Called *plateola* in iii. 6.

42. *virī sapientis*] A sage or philosopher, Irish *sui*.

PAGE 122. 10. *paulo superius*] In this same chapter, second sentence.

19. *Cellam Magnam Deathrib*] Hib. *Cell-mor Dithribh*, Kilmore in Roscommon, on the Shannon, founded by St. Columba before he left Ireland.

29. *vinō*] This allusion to new wine bursting through the interstices of a cask is perhaps borrowed from some southern writer, or may be founded on what the writer knew of other fermenting liquors.

PAGE 123. 1. *Capitula*] These are supplied from Cod. B., as Cod. A. has none for the second and third books. It will be seen by the numbers appended that they do not quite correspond with the order of the chapters, and that they are not expressed in the same words as are the titles.

PAGE 124. 6. *De duobus*, etc.] This and the preceding title both belong to ch. xix.

8, 9. *De quodam plebio*, etc. : *De quodam divite*, etc.] Both these titles belong to ch. xx.

29. *Ionae*] The late MS. B. always reads *Iona*, as here.

PAGE 125. 31. *Expliciunt*] A barbarous plural of *Explicit*, which is really an abbreviation for *Explicitus*, unrolled, 'formed, no doubt, as a pendant to *Incipit*'. A MS. Glossary, quoted by Ducange, says, 'Explicit, il est fini, Expliciunt, Eux sont finis, et se decline Explicit, Expliciunt, et non plus.' But *Explicui*, *Explicueat*, and *Explicuit* also occur. See Ducange, s.v. ; Maunde Thompson, *Gk. and Lat. Palaeography*, 1893, p. 59 ; and Madan, *MS. Books*, 1893, pp. 9, 46, 137. The word, like *volumen*, originally referred to rolls.



## LIB. II

PAGE 126. 6. *addiscens*] If the Findbarrus of the text be St. Finnian of Moville, which seems probable, it is to this period that the legend of the 'son-book' (Intr. vi. § 6) relates. Cummin calls him Vinnianus in this same chapter. Dr. Reeves, in his note here, has collected a number of references to legends of water turned into wine, honey, milk, beer, etc.

11. *aquam*] Note that the early Irish Church, in common with the rest of Christendom, used the mixed chalice, on which see Martène, *Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iii. 7; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* XV. ii. 7. It is three times mentioned in Justin Martyr's account of the Eucharist, and alluded to in the Clementine Liturgy as well as by Irenaeus, evidently as the only usage known. It was in fact universal for the first 1,500 years after Christ, except in Armenia.

14. *elementum*] In ancient and mediaeval philosophy the elements were believed to be earth, water, air, and fire, and this appears to be the meaning here. The now common Eucharistic employment of the word seems to have arisen out of the late Latin application of it to food and drink, e.g. by Gregory of Tours.

19. *speciem*] Note here an early application of this term to one of the Eucharistic elements.

26. *protum*] Gr. *πρωτον*. *Protum* is the reading of MS. F.; MS. A., Colgan, and the Bollandists have *pro tum*; C. has *primum*, and D. *promptum*. *Protum* is doubtless the right reading, and the remark would be suggested by St. John ii. 11.

31. *diale*] See note on p. 93, l. 16, p. 194.

PAGE 127. 15. *dulcedinem*] A similar story is told of St. Mochoe-moc. Colg. *Acta SS.*, p. 593 b.

20. *virgarum fasciculos*] Faggots for wattled buildings. Kilclief in co. Down, Kilclay near Clogher, and Kilcleagh in Westmeath took their names from *Cill-Cleithe*, the 'hurdle church'. Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 217; Joyce, i. 313.

22. *navi*] According to the ancient Irish Life this wattling was wanted for a church in Derry.

26. *bis terni modii*] So 'sex modios' in i. 41, p. 115, l. 40.

PAGE 128. 3. *Delcros*] Not identified; *dealg ros* = promontory of thorns.

7. *Munitio Magna*] Possibly Dunbhuirg, 'the hill of the fortification,' in the north-west of Iona, which shows some traces of fortification on the top. It is one of the highest hills in the island, Rath mor (great fort) according to the Irish original of O'Donnell's life. We need not attach much importance to the word *monticulus*, when used by Adamnan.

10. *Nemani-don Mocusogin*] Neman-don Mocusogin; the latter is a clan name, probably = *mocu Soghain*, filiorum Soghani.

14. *Ailbine*] The small river Delvin, which runs between the counties of Dublin and Meath.

*Vadum Clied*] *Ath Cliath*, 'Hurdle Ford,' the ancient name of Dublin. Irish-speaking natives still call it *Baile-Atha-Cliath*, the town of the ford of the hurdles. The later name is from *Duibhlinn*, black pool, not a bad description of the Liffey at the present time. On the Irish kishes or wickerwork bridges see Joyce, i. 361-4.

16. *ulcera*] This looks like an epidemic of small-pox and of cow-pox. It is not noticed in the Irish Annals.

21. *vita comite*] From Vulg. of Gen. xviii. 10, 14; cp. 2 Kings (4 Reg.) iv. 16. The meaning of the Hebrew is not quite certain. See Speaker's *Commentary and Revised Version*. So Eddii *Vita Wilfr.* cap. 4.

23. *conspersi*] See the two following chapters, and ch. 33, as also Bede's account of the virtues supposed to reside in water containing particles of Irish MSS. and of St. Oswald's cross (*H. E.* i. 1, iii. 2); many similar accounts may be seen in Bede and elsewhere.

26. *pane benedicto*] Bede relates how one Hildmer was cured by drinking water in which had been put a little piece of a loaf that had been blessed by St. Cuthbert. *Vita S. C.* xxxi. The *Eulogia* or holy bread may be meant.

30. *Ard Ceannachte*] In Meath; the height of the Cianachta or posterity of Cian, who was slain c. 240.

PAGE 129. 19. *Clocherum filiorum Daimeni*] Clochar mac n Daimhene, Clogher, where St. Maccarthen founded a monastery in St. Patrick's time, which afterwards became a bishop's see.

21. *Maugina*] Moghain, probably of Cluainboirenn, *Mart. Donegal*, Dec. 15, p. 337.

22. *post missam*] The 'vespertina missa'; see iii. 23 and note.

23. *partes*] Maugina appears to have sustained a fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone, which is often caused by a false step, e. g. from a kerb-stone, in the case of aged persons. Such patients not uncommonly regain a fair use of the limb.

27. *Benedictio*] (1) blessing, as in ii. 39 *bis*. (2) the vehicle of blessing, ii. 5, 6, 33, so *Eulogia*, ii. 7 n. For the second sense compare Heb. בְּרִכָּה, a present, Gen. xxxiii. 11, 1 Sam. xxv. 27, etc.

31. *coniungetur os*] For a broken arm cured by moss from St. Oswald's cross, see Bede, *H. E.* iii. 2.

39. *condensato*] United.

PAGE 130. 17. *petram salis*] A lump of rock salt.

19. *eulogiam*] Synonymous with *benedictio* just below. *Eulogia*, id est, salutationem vel donum, Gloss. interl. Cod. D. *Eulogiae*, Edulia sacerdotis benedictione consecrata. Index Onomast. in *Acta SS.*, Julii Tom. i; Reeves, 1857, on ii. 13. Usually bread hallowed by prayer, from which the bread for the Eucharist was taken, but in later times different bread, also hallowed, the 'holy-bread'. See notes on ii. 4, 5, p. 128, l. 26, p. 129, l. 27, both on this page.

27. *sudes*] Probably the stakes that supported the hurdle wall. If they were made damp by the deliquescence of the salt, it would not require a miracle to prevent their taking fire.

28. *librario folio*] A book leaf.

35. *Boend*] Boand, the Boyne, which forms most of the southern limit of Ulster.

36. *sub ascella*] The satchel was slung in the usual way under his *axilla*, as represented on the Great Cross at Clonmacnoise.

37. *in pelliceo sacco*] In a *tiag*; each separate book would be in a *polaire*. See Intr. iv. § 13.

PAGE 131. 6. *hymnorum liber*] The *Antiphonarium Benchoreense*, A.D. 680-691, contains not only Antiphons, etc., but six well-known canticles, and twelve metrical hymns, one of which (*Sancti, venite*) has become familiar through Dr. Neale's translation, 'Draw nigh, and take', in *Hymns A. and M.*, No. 313; *Antiph. Bench.* i. 10 v, ii. 10; Warren, *Celtic Ch.* 187. The *Liber Hymnorum* in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century, contains a number of Latin and Irish hymns not found elsewhere. The late Dr. Todd began to edit it, but his death prevented its completion. A very complete edition, however, with translation, etc., was issued, in two volumes, by the H. Bradshaw Society, in 1897, 1898.

22. *nullo modo corrumpi potuere*] There are many legends of books written by or belonging to Saints resisting the action of water and even of fire. See Reeves's note here, and Plummer, I. cxxxviii. They are probably founded on actual facts. Symeon relates a circumstance of this kind (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, lib. II. cap. xvii). Cp. Mac Geoghegan's MS. quoted in the Book of Trinity Coll. Dublin, p. 160, as to the superstitious practice of purposely sinking these books in water to cure sick cattle, also, as to St. Margaret's Gospel-book, Madan, *Books in MS.*, 107 ff.

37. *eiusdem in re . . . creaturæ*] In the circumstance or case of the same 'creature' or created thing (used as in the Consecration Prayer in the Prayer Book and 1 Tim. iv. 4).

PAGE 132. 10. *Lugucencalad*] A diminutive of *Lugu*, a proper name, with *caladh*, 'of the ferry', or *L. Cenn-calad*, 'hard-head.'

12. *pollens*] Potent, as a healing spring.

19. *quasi deum*] Tirechán relates of St. Patrick that 'Venit ad fontem Findmaige qui dicitur Slan, quia indicatum illi quod honorabant magi fontem, et immolaverunt dona ad illum in modum dii, . . . quia adorabant fontem in modum dii' (Stokes, *Trip.* 323). No doubt the Christian veneration for holy wells has been in some measure a continuation of a very natural pre-Christian feeling of the value of wells, which feeling too often became idolatrous or otherwise superstitious. Here, however, we have a rare instance of a well regarded even by Adamnan as malign in its influences, and worshipped by the heathen from a sense of fear, until St. Columba obtained the healing of the waters.

PAGE 133. 2. *sentinam*] *Sentina* is properly the bilge-water that collects in the hold of a ship; the only marginal gloss in Cod. A. is on this word: '*sentina est feruida aqua nauis.*' Reeves, 453; Pl. ii. 6. Also, the bilge-hole or sink.

5. *hininglas*] In old Irish = 'the green water', i.e. the sea,

from *in*, the, *an*, water, and *glas*, greyish or bluish green. (Reeves.) A gloss crept into the text, or an original parenthetical explanation of the unusual form 'aquam amaram', contrasted with 'dulcem precem'. The above derivation is open to question.

5-6. *aquam cessat . . . fundere*] Note the antithesis.

14. *in vortice Brechain*] See note on p. 97, l. 17, p. 196.

24. *Ached-bou*] *Campulus Bovis*, Aghaboe, dio. Ossory.

27. *eulogiam*] Here the holy-bread or *pain béni*, still distributed in many French churches, as formerly in those of England. The Irish practice seems to have been to take it in the refectory, and that the same practice existed at Iona has been inferred from the preface to the *Altus* of St. Columba in *Lib. Hymnor.* ii. 220; H. B. S. ii. 23. See Skene, C. S. ii. 99. The later copyists have adapted Codd. C., D. to later usage by substituting *oratorio* for *refectorio*.

PAGE 134. 1. *cum uno calceamento*] The same story is told, including this graphic detail, in the *Life of St. Cainnech, Acta SS. Hib. ex cod. Salm.*, col. 388. A similar story is told of St. David (Colg. *Acta SS.* 209 b) and of St. Aidan, bp. of Ferns, quoted in Ducange, *Gloss.*, under *Fico*.

13. *Oidecham*] Called *terrula Aithche* in this same chapter; somewhere between Iona and Ireland, possibly the south of Islay, formerly named Owo, now 'The Ooa'.

18. *invenit*] This again is in a *Life of St. Cainnech*, in *Cod. Marshii*, cap. 25, quoted by Reeves here.

31. *portu Iouae*] See i. 30 n., p. 108, l. 20, p. 203.

36. *Columbanum*] See note on i. 5, p. 97, l. 15, p. 196.

PAGE 135. 6. *credenti*] St. Mark ix. 22, Vulg.

11. *eodem anno*] A. D. 595.

20. *signum salutare*] The sign of the cross; see chs. 27, 29, 35. St. Patrick is said to have signed himself a hundred times in a day, and to have alighted from his *currus* to pray whenever he saw a cross. Muirchu in Stokes, *Tripartite*, 293; *Anal. Boll.* i. 578; Gwynn, 14.

22. *gergenna*] The wooden bar that fastened down the lid of a milk-pail; *Glossae Saxon.* MSS. *sticca*, *gergenna* (Somner, *ap.* Ducange).

28. *daemonem*] 'An enumeration of all the superstitions regarding milk in its various stages, prevalent even in the present day among the peasantry of Scotland and the north of Ireland, would require more space than the limited nature of a note permits' (Reeves, 1857, p. 126).

PAGE 136. 5. *lac . . . expressit*] In the *Life of St. Fechin* (Colg. *Acta SS.* 131 a; Plummer, ii. 79) is a story of how the saint when a boy, 'per columbinam simplicitatem inter taurum et vaccam discernere nesciens,' milked the former by mistake. The term *columbina simplicitas* occurs in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Junii Tom. i, p. 237.

20. *Elenae insulae*] 'Elena insula' has not been identified with certainty, but it is probably Eilean na Naomh, one of the Garve-loch isles, between Scarba and Mull. Dr. Skene identified this with

*Hinba insula*; the same island may have had both names. See i. 21 n., p. 104, l. 15, p. 200. The Latin *Elena* may be from *Eileann*, insula.

31. *Sale*] Possibly the Blackwater in Meath, anciently Sale or Sele, which St. Patrick is said to have cursed, saying, 'Non erunt pisces magni in flumine Sele semper.' Tirechán in Stokes, *Trip.* 307. For another river Sale, see ii. 45, p. 160, l. 15, p. 222.

35. *esocem*] *Esox* or *isicius* has been understood to denote three or four different fishes, in modern times especially the pike (*Esox lucius*, Linn.). But in mediaeval Latin it often stood for the salmon, and we are probably to understand *salmon* here. See Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 6.

PAGE 137. 10. *Stagnum Aporum*] Or, *Stagnum Aporicum*, Lochaber, now the name of a district, not of any lake. Called Loch Abair by Mac Firbis, cited by Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 494.

24. *De quodam*, etc.] This section is wanting in Cod. A., and is supplied here from Cod. B. It is bracketed as being of doubtful genuineness.

PAGE 138. 8. *boculas*] Reeves thinks that in this and the preceding chapters the diminutives may have reference to the poverty of the animals.

10. *florida benedictio*] A bright or beautiful blessing.

PAGE 139. 4. *vitreas*] Glassy or glass-green, in allusion to colour and transparency.

5. *ambis*] So in Codd. A., B., for *ambabus*, C., D., S. *Ambis manibus* is in *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 14.

9. *Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol*] See i. 12 n., p. 100, l. 1; p. 198. There is Camusnangel in Ardnamurchan.

19. *fabulator*] 'To tell the tale.'

33. *Ilea insula*] Islay.

PAGE 140. 2. *arboreo saginata fructu*] St. Patrick relates in his *Confessio* how he met with a herd of swine in a forest when he was escaping from servitude.

25. *Findluganus*] Finnloga, disciple and brother of St. Fintan of Dunblesque, co. Limerick. Commemorated in the name of Loch Finlagan in Islay, in which are the isle and ruined chapel of St. Finlagan. Also in Tamlaght Finlagan, co. Derry, in which parish Drumceatt is.

32. *Manus Dexteræ*] = Irish *Lamh dess*. Latin equivalents of Irish names are often given by Adamnan as well as by other writers of the Irish school. Codex B. adds *dicebatur*.

40. *Longa*] Luing, an island near Scarba.

PAGE 141. 3. *innocentium*] The term *innocentes* is often applied to women and children, in this case to a *filiola* or *filia*. Adamnan *dedit legem innocentium*, i. e. a law exempting women from going to battle (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 696), explained in Mac Firbis's *Annals* as meaning 'to slay neither women nor children' (*Chron. Scotorum*, 112 n.). In 813, however, *plurimi sunt interfecti innocentes* (ib.).

So the infant Cuthbert is called 'þe Innocent wappid (wrapt) in clathes' (*Metr. Life*, l. 365). *Innocens chori* is a chorister in a Bull of Innocent VIII (1484). So *innocentes pueros* in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Junii Tom. i, p. 237.

9. *Gemmanum*] Some MSS. and edd. have *Germanum*, but there is an Irish name Gemman.

10. *magistrum*] See above, Intr. vi. § 2.

19. *puer*] Used by St. Columba of his attendant in ch. 30, and constantly in mediaeval writings for a servant.

28. *provincias*] Used here in a much more limited sense than in later times.

PAGE 142. 13. *Nesa*] Or Nisa, the river Ness, between Loch Ness and the Moray Firth. Hence *Inverness*, *inver* being an estuary or arm of the sea.

16. *aquatis bestia*] Reeves, who gives some illustrations from Colgan and others, says here: 'The belief that certain rivers and lakes were haunted by serpents of a demoniacal and terrible character was current among the Irish at a very remote period, and still prevails in many parts of Ireland.' See Le Fanu, *Seventy Years of Irish Life*, 107, 121. Some of these stories may have arisen from enormous pike having been seen.

18. *alno*] *Alnus* is a classical word for a boat, properly one made of alder wood.

20. *caupallum*] *Caupallus*, a boat, coble, is the same as *caupulus* or *caupolus*, which occurs in Aulus Gellius, and is explained by the glossarists as *lembus*, *cymba*, *navicula brevis*, *lignum cavatum*, etc. See Ducange. We find *navicula* as a synonym in this same chapter. And yet O'Donnell and Colgan thought it denoted a horse, Irish *capul*.

27. *fremitu*] This highly imaginative touch is very characteristic. Le Fanu mentions a dreadful 'wurrum' that roars like a bull, and bites, as still surviving in many a mountain lake. Among the supposed signs of the last fifteen days of the world was that on one of the days the sea monsters should come to the surface and bellow even unto the heaven (*Yks. Arch. Journal*, xxiii. 320, etc.). The legends of the 'worms' of Sockburn and of Lambton in the Bishopric of Durham are probably of Celtic origin.

37. *contulí*] Of a punt-pole?

PAGE 143. 10. *campulo*] See i. 37 n., p. 112, l. 24, p. 205.

12. *eminentiore loco*] Perhaps one of the 'fairy-hills' in the Machar, or, a platform; see note on p. 106.

19. *viperarum venena*] This is much earlier than the legend of St. Patrick's driving the serpents, etc., out of Ireland, which legend dates only from the twelfth century (Intr. ii. § 6). There are no snakes in Iona, but if ever there had been any they would soon have been exterminated during the human occupation of so small an island. According to the earliest Cretan legends all noxious creatures were expelled from Crete by Hercules; later this was attributed to St. Paul. Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, 1890, p. 57.

Pausanias wrote that no snakes or wolves would live in Sardinia (X. xvii. 6).

26. *Molua*] The name Lua, short for Luguid, with the particle of affection (= 'my'). Nepos Briuni is in Irish Ua Briuin, cp. ch. 16, p. 135.

38. *vallum*] The rath (enclosing mound and fence) or cashel (wall). See Intr. iv. § 2.

PAGE 144. 2. *ferrum*] If a spear-head was really melted so that others could be coated with the metal, it must surely have been of bronze, though called 'ferrum' in the sense of weapon. They would hardly be able to liquefy iron, though they might liquefy bronze, as was done for the purpose of coating sheet-iron bells. See Intr. iv. § 8.

5. *fortitudine*] This story is told of St. Baithene in his Life (*Acta SS.*, Junii Tom. ii, p 237 b).

16. *puer*] See ii. 25 n., p. 141, l. 19, p. 216.

34. *Kailli-au-inde*] Not identified, unless Cally, in Perthshire.

40. *per interpretatorem*] This event seems to have occurred before Columba had acquired the Pictish language sufficiently to address the people. So in the case of Artbranan (i. 33 n.). But in ii. 33, 34, 35, and iii. 14, we have no mention of an interpreter; SS. Comgall and Canice may, however, have acted in this capacity at one time. See Intr. vii. § 3.

PAGE 145. 22-23. *sta super pedes tuos*] Acts xxvi. 16.

36. *saeculorum*] This doxology reads like the conclusion of a homily. So on p. 187, l. 13.

41. *Broichanus magus*] Broichan the Druid was *nutricius* or foster-father (or foster-son?) of King Brude; see p. 146, l. 25.

*Scoticam*] Of Irish extraction, but living in Scotland.

PAGE 146. 8. *Signate*] 'Mark', in the sense of *observe* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 423, Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 417), or, perhaps, 'sign' with the sign of the cross. On pebble superstitions, see Intr. vii. § 3 n.

*candidum lapidem*] See Rev. ii. 17, and Speaker's Commentary thereon.

14. *biberam*] *Bibera* is a drinking-cup here, *poculum* below. But the monastic Biber or Biberes, and the English Bever or Bevers, were the contents of the cups, not the cups themselves.

27. *cum lapide a se benedicto*] Basil of Seleucia tells a similar story of St. Thecla sending a round stone and curing Alypius the grammarian. Ussher, *Works*, iii. 442.

37. *lithus*] = λίθος; this is the only example of the word in Ducange.

38. *benedictio*] the blessed pebble; see Glossary s. v.

PAGE 147. 10. *infit*] as if without an interpreter.

18. *longum*] Loch Ness is twenty-four miles long, forming the longest stage in the line of the Caledonian Canal.

25. *Sinu Gallico*] The *Sinus Gallicus* is what we call the British Channel.

26. *naviganti*] St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, visited Britain

in 429 and 448. The reference is to the earlier visit. About 640 years later, his middle finger was brought to Selby in Yorkshire, and led to the dedication of the noble Abbey Church in his honour.

29. *caligine*] This incident is related in the Life of St. Germanus by Constantius and in other Lives of St. Germanus and of St. Lupus in *Acta SS. Boll.* Bede adopts Constantius's account with slight alterations and no acknowledgement (*H. E.* i. 17-21).

31. *furientia*] Loch Ness, like the Lake of Gennesaret and many others, is subject to sudden squalls owing to its position among surrounding hills.

PAGE 148. 5. *Brudeum*] There are discrepancies in the authorities as to the chronology of this visit. Reeves fixes on 563 as the most probable date. Bede makes the conversion of Brude and his subjects to precede the donation of Iona, which is in itself probable, but he places the date at 565 (*H. E.* iii. 4). See Intr. vii. § 1.

7. *comitibus*] SS. Comgall and Cainnech or Canice. See Intr. vii. § 3.

13. *domum*] Dr. Reeves thought that this was a house inside the vitrified fort on Craig Phadrick, but Dr. Skene placed it among the ditches and ramparts on Torvean. See Intr. vii. § 3 n.

22. *Scotia*] Note that by this name Ireland is here meant, as elsewhere up to the eleventh century. Adamnan reckons modern Scotland as part of Britannia.

23. *Duum Ruris Rivulorum*] Tir-daglas, now Terryglass, co. Tipperary, a monastery founded by Colum mac Crimthain, fellow-student of St. Columba at Clonard, who died Dec. 13, 548 (his day). *Duum* (misread *diuini* by Dempster, *Menol.*, p. 167) is frequently used for *duorum*. On the remarkable frequency of *two* in Irish place-names, see Joyce, i. 255-261.

PAGE 149. 13. *deerit*] St. Wilfrid taught the men of Sussex how to use their eel-nets in the sea, so as to obtain draughts of fishes regarded as miraculous. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 13.)

28. *captivi ducemur*] A real danger at that time. See Colg. *Acta SS.* and *Tr. Th.* Indices Morales, s. vv. *Capti*, *Captivi*; Joyce, *Hist.* 79.

41. *Nigra Dea*] Irish *Dubh bandea*, not identified, but *Bandea* (= *Dea*) occurs in the Book of Armagh as the name of a river in Ireland.

42. *esocem*] A salmon. See above, ii. 19 n., p. 136, l. 35, p. 215.

PAGE 150. 20. *Laitirus*] Probably *laidir*, 'fortis.'

22. *utrem lactarium*] A bag for holding milk, either the whole skin of a single animal, like a wine-skin, or a leather bottle. See O'Curry, *Manners*, etc. Intr. ccclvii, Lectures ii. 117.

30. *salacia unda*] The seaward or ebbing tide. St. Augustine refers to a notion that the *salacia* and *venilia undae* were named from Salacia, the wife of Neptune, and Venilia, another divinity connected with the sea, but says, 'Venilia unda est quae ad littus venit, salacia quae in salum redit.' *De Civ. Dei*, vii. 22; cp. *ib.* iv. 10, 11.



36. *venilia (unda)*] The coming in or flowing tide. See last note. Other names for the ebb and flood were *ledo* and *malina*. (Ducange.)

37. *transacta nona*] Perhaps 'when nones had been sung'.

PAGE 151. 8. *prophetatio*] The object of this long chapter is to show the fulfilment of St. Columba's prophecies that both he and Libran would live seven years after their first interview, that Libran would be set free by his earthly master, that his younger brother would relieve him of the responsibility of maintaining his mother, and that he should live to a good old age as a monk in Tiree, but await his resurrection in Ireland; also, St. Columba's power to change the wind, and to know, while in Iona, what was going on in Ireland.

12. *sumpto clericatus habitu*] The dress of a monastic associate, novice, or penitent, as would appear from the narrative. Cp. i. 36 n., p. 111, l. 23, p. 205.

14. *hospitio*] The *hospitium* or guest-house was necessary in all monasteries for occasional visitors; St. Cuthbert had one in connexion with his solitary cell on Farne island. And in Iona it would be an important building.

16. *Connachtarum*] Of the men of Connaught, at first *Olnegmacht*, but in the third century called *Connact* from *Cuinn iochta*, the race of Conn. (O'Curry, *Manners*, etc., ii. 10, 11; Keating, ed. 1809, i, p. 14; O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, note by Hardiman, p. 125.)

24. *leges poenitentiae*] The penitential canons. See above, i. 22 n., p. 105, l. 11, p. 201.

36. *absolvit*] Paid the fine, *eric*, or *blód-witte*, to the nearest of kin to the deceased.

41. *infringens*] He appears to have been more distressed about breaking his oath to an earthly master, even in order to serve God in monastic penance, than about the murder.

PAGE 152. 18. *dentibus*] Solinus, speaking of the Irish, says, 'Qui student cultui, dentibus marinarum belluarum insciant ensium capulos, candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem, nam praecipua viris gloria est in armorum nitela.' *Polyhist.* xxv.

23. *resolvens*] This clause appears to refer to some form of manumission.

33. *pietatis obsequia*] 'The allusion to filial obligations . . . indicates . . . a better social and moral condition in Ireland at this date than the tone of the native annals would lead one to expect.' (Reeves.)

PAGE 153. 5. *septima die*] I.e. from the beginning of Libran's attendance on his dying father, according to Columba's prophecy.

17. *refutaverunt eum*] 'bid him begone'.

25. *flumen*] The Feabhal or Foyle, on which Derry stands.

PAGE 154. 16. *liber*] Reeves cites seven other instances of the name Libran, Libren, or Liber. All were probably named for the same reason.

18. *monasterium*] Magh Lunge in Tiree. See above, in this chapter, p. 151, l. 27.

22. *resurges*] A good example of the distinction between North Britain and Ireland, also of the habit of looking forward to resurrection rather than to burial.

25. *monasteriorum*] All were included in the *muintir Cholum-cille*, or familia *Columbae-cille*, and owned the abbot of Iona as their common head. Bede regards Durrow in Ireland and Iona in Britain as the two parent monasteries of the order. (*H. E.* iii. 4.)

44. *arundines*] The reeds would be for thatching and the like, as now in the district of the Norfolk Broads, where churches as well as other buildings are thatched with reeds. So again in Holland, and, indeed, wherever reeds are plentiful.

PAGE 155. 8. *punitiōibus*] People often speak of 'punishment' meaning only pain.

20. *Scotia*] Called *Hibernia* just above.

27. *Rechrea insula*] Either Rechru (i. 5 n.), or Rechru, now Lambay, off the coast of Dublin.

33. *Erunt*, etc.] St. Matt. xix. 5, Vulg.

39. *maria transire*] O'Donnell adds 'vel Hierosolimas peregrinari', ii. 81 (*Tr. Th.* 425 a).

*puellarum monasterio*] We have no record of any Columban nunnery; a house of Austin canonesses was founded in Iona in the thirteenth century.

41. *alligata*] Connected with *a lege viri*. Cp. Rom. vii. 2; 1 Cor. vii. 39.

*Quos enim*, etc.] Cp. St. Matt. xix. 6.

PAGE 156. 9. *si*] Equivalent to the enclitic *ne* in a direct question, as in St. Matt. xii. 10, Vulg., 'Si licet sabbatis curare?' See Röscher, 404. Heb. *DN*, Gr. *ei*.

23. *libello*] See i. 6, p. 97.

30. *Orcadas insulas*] The Orkneys.

37. *morte vicinu*] Reeves concludes from this that the men of Orkney were still pagans.

PAGE 157. 13. *septemtrionalis*] Reeves cites instances of the Irish in early times finding their way to Iceland, Færoe Isles, and the frozen seas.

20. *bestiolæ*] It was suggested to the editor by the late Rev. Dr. A. M. Norman, that the creatures referred to must have been the common stinging jelly-fish, *Cyanea capillata*. He wrote, 'They are larger than frogs, but their brown colour, and the fact that the rounded bell of a floating *Cyanea* above the water is not unlike the rounded back of a frog floating still at the surface, might have suggested the comparison. The jelly-fish are often a great impediment to rowing, their long tentacula becoming entangled in the blades of the oars, and fishermen know too well the effect of their stinging-filaments when they handle ropes, nets, or oars, or anything that has come in contact with the jelly-fish.' As to shoals of medusæ in the North Sea, Dr. Norman referred me to Baster, *Opuscula Subseciva*, 1765, t. ii. p. 60, quoted in Lesson, *Hist. naturelle des Zoophytes*, Paris, 1843, and Mr. Elton, in his *Origins*

of *Engl. Hist.*, 1890, p. 70 n., refers to Pontoppidan, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 182, and Kircher, *Mundus Subterr.* ii. 129.

22. *navis*] The *currach* or coracle. A small one was called 'navis unius pellis' or 'de uno corio'. Larger ones were covered with two or more skins. The keels and gunwales were of wood, and the sides of wicker-work, on which the skins were stretched. Reeves quotes a minute account of the building of a currach from a Life of St. Brendan (the skins were greased with butter) and gives a number of references to passages bearing on the subject. Those now in use are made with longitudinal ribs and tarred canvas stretched over. On coracles see Caes. *Bell. Civ.* i. 54; Plin. *N. H.* iv, cap. 16; Lucan, *Phars.* iv. 130-6; Solinus, cap. 25; Gildas, *De excid.*, cap. 15; Muirchu in Stokes's *Tripartite*, 223, 288; Giraldus, *Topog. Hib.*, dist. iii, cap. 26; Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, ii. 179-189; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, part iii, ch. 34; Ware, *Antiq. of Ireland*, ch. xxiv. To Reeves's ref. to later writers, add Pocock's *Tour*, p. 64; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 115; Gwynn, Index under *Naucula*.

33. *signo*] *Signum*, which has eight other meanings in Ducange, is one of the many synonyms of *campana*, a bell, 'quia sonitu illius datur signum sive indicium faciendi aliquid.' Rocca, *De Campanis*, Opp. 1719, i. 159. 'Signo personante' occurs in iii. 13.

PAGE 158. 24. *utilitatibus*] Probably a visitation of monasteries, hardly the convention of Drumceatt, as assumed by O'Donnell, *Tr. Th.* 433 b.

*currum*] See i. 38 n., p. 114, l. 9, p. 206.

25. *benedictum*] 'Iuxta morem' no doubt, as in the case of the milk-pail, ch. 16.

27. *obicibus*] Linch-pins, used, as at present, with fixed axles. So in a metrical Life of St. Bridget we find 'Axis solus erat, currusque sine obice abibat', *Tr. Th.* 591 b. Another way of securing wheels was by a *roseta* or hub, in which case the axle revolved with the wheels, as in some modern Irish carts. 'Auriga . . . rosetas oblitus est ponere contra rotas . . . Episcopus . . . vidit illum (currum) rosetas non habere', *Vit. Tert. S. Brig.*, *Tr. Th.* 532 a.

29. *Snamluthir*] Slanore, in Granard, co. Longford. *Snamluthir* is the swimming-ford of Luthir; the name has passed through the forms *Snawlougher* and *Snalore* to its present form.

31. *agitatio*] We must remember what roads were 'before they were made'.

32. *humerulorumque*] The shoulders or portions of the axles on to which the wheels were fixed.

40. *sufficiat*] The short recension ends here, with the words 'animadvertere lector debet, quod et de compertis in eo multa propter legentium praetermissa sunt fastidium'. Ch. 46 ends nearly in the same form in the full recension.

41. *transitum*] Some of these have been related in i. 1.

PAGE 159. 5. *quatuordecim*] The drought was probably partial,

not being recorded in the Annals as some are. Cumminian begins this chapter 'Post mortem viri Dei'. 'Now if this be a genuine work, and if the writer be Cuimine Ailbe, it will follow that the present chapter of Adamnan was written between 679 and 683: for Cumminian, who relates the occurrence, died in 669, and therefore that is the latest date to which we can add the 14 years in the text, which brings us to 683, four years after Adamnan's elevation to the abbacy of Hy.' (Reeves.)

11. *praebebunt*] Lev. xxvi. 19, 20, Vulg.

15. *tunica*] The inner garment. St. Martin took off his *tunica* for a poor man, and was then 'extrinsecus indutus amphibalo, veste nudus interius'. Sulp. Sev., Migne, *P. L.* 20, col. 201; Gwynn, 413. The well-known story of his dividing his cloak with a beggar belongs to the earlier period in the saint's life, when he was a soldier. See Migne, 20, col. 162; Gwynn, 379.

19. *Colliculo Angelorum*] Cnoc Angel, a conspicuous round sand-hill, covered with sheep-nibbled verdure, in the Machar or western plain in Iona. It is called *Sithean Mor* (great fairies' hill) to distinguish it from *Sithean Beg* (little fairies' hill), a similar mound a little to the north-west. There is a *Mons Angelorum* (Carn Ingli) in Pembrokeshire, and at Ripon is Elveshou, now 'Ailcey' hill. The fairies' hills of pagan mythology became Angels' hills in the minds of the early Christian saints,

'Tun'd by Faith's ear to some celestial melody.'

*Christian Year*, 3rd S. in Lent. In this case there is a special reason for the name; see iii. 16, p. 174.

23. *Aprilis*] Reeves seems to infer that the sowing was done immediately after the rain, and therefore earlier than June, the usual time for sowing barley in Iona at present. But the text says no more than that the thirsty soil was saturated, and that in the same year there was a good harvest.

39. *dolatae*] 'Dug-out' or hollowed out of single trees. A fine example was found at Brigg in Lincolnshire in April 1886, and is now in the Museum at Hull. It is of oak, 48 ft. 6 in. long, and 4 ft. 6 in. across, and was apparently a hollow tree to begin with. See an illustrated account of this and notices of others in *Archaeologia*, vol. 50, p. 361. Reeves mentions some of great length found in bogs and lakes, referring to Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 101.

PAGE 160. 8. *curucis*] Currachs or coracles. Three kinds of vessels are mentioned in this chapter, *naves longae dolatae*, *scaphae*, and *curucae*. Elsewhere we have *barca*, i. 28; *navicula*, i. 1, 34; *navis oneraria*, ii. 3; *alnus*, ii. 27; *caupallus*, ib.; *cymba*, *cymbula*, ii. 34. The *curucae* had *antennae*, *vela*, *remi*, and *rudentes*, ii. 42, 45. Both here and in the next paragraph, the word *trahere* seems to denote *towing*, not carrying.

15. *Salé*] A river from which a SE. wind brought ships to Iona, possibly the Seil in Lorne.

16. *duodecim*] Reeves shows how largely adopted this number

was not only in almost every department of religious economy but in secular use also.

15-16. *roboreae materiae*] The construction of timber buildings was called *mos Scottorum*, and that of stone *mos Romanorum*. Reeves has collected a number of quotations to show that wood was the rule and stone the exception until about the twelfth century. See also Petrie, *Round Towers*, Index. In England it was much the same, hence our word *timber*, properly building-material, and the A.S. *timbrian*, to build. In the 'stone-carpentry' and turned baluster shafts of our earliest stone buildings in this country, we have reminiscences of the wooden structures that preceded them. It is hardly necessary to point out that wood is the ordinary building-material in many countries at the present day. Cp. note on ii. 3, p. 127, l. 20, p. 211. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 195.

20. *Airthrago*] SE. of Iona, unidentified unless it be Arran. Kerrera and Erraid have been suggested.

31. *crucis instar*] A suggestion of the value of the sign of the cross.

41. *conductum*] There is no means of knowing what particular synod this was. Adamnan attended a synod of forty bishops or abbots (*antistites*) c. 695, and an earthen enclosure at Tara was called the Rath of the Synods; with this the name of Adamnan was traditionally connected, and on the east side of it is the *Crux Adamnani*. He may have attended synods of the Irish clergy in order to promote the acceptance of the Roman Easter.

*Generis Loerni*] Cinel Loairn, the tribe of Lorne in Argyle-shire.

PAGE 161. 1. *nox*] The vigil or eve of St. Columba, June 8.

6. *impetrare*] St. Columba was invoked during his life on earth from distant places (ii. 5, 13, 39, 40), and after his decease his intercession was sought in the same way (ii. 44, 45, 46). It never occurred to the congregation of Iona that when their master had been taken from them he would be less able to hear and to help them.

8. *Natalis*] *dies* is the festival of a saint, commemorating his birth into the future life 'quia ut saeculo et mundo moriuntur, ita tunc caelo nascuntur'. Beleth, *Div. Off.* 4. See further in Ducange. The day of birth into this world is usually distinguished as *Nativitas*, but, in ii. 9, Adamnan has *Natalitium Domini*.

11. *progredimur*] By rowing.

*Auster cardinalis*] The wind due south. The cardinal points are those which lie (1) in the direction of the earth's poles (*cardines*, from *cardo*, a hinge, pivot, point about which the earth turns), (2) in the direction of sunrise and sunset. See i. 43 n., p. 117, l. 1, p. 207.

16. *tertiam*] It was about thirty miles, a six hours' sail.

17. *sexta*] Note that mass was celebrated at noon on this occasion.

19. *sanctorum*] On this coincidence see Intr. viii. § 1.

21. *Sainea insula*] Shuna, in Nether Lorne, parish of Kilchattan.

23. *legem*] Deut. xix. 15; St. Matt. xviii. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

26. *mortalitate*] The great plague of 664, of which Bede gives an account in *H. E.* iii. 27. There were renewed outbreaks in Ireland as well as in England during the rest of the century. The Four Masters under 684 mention a mortality throughout the whole world for three years in which not one in a thousand animals escaped, and in the same year a frost in which all the lakes and rivers in Ireland were frozen, and there was communication on the ice between Ireland and Scotland. At Jarrow in 685 the services had to be carried on, owing to the plague, by the abbot Ceolfrith and his little pupil, who grew up to be the venerable Bede. The disease was a virulent bilious fever known as the *flava pestis* or *pestis ictericia*. Reeves has collected a number of quotations relating to it.

27. *bis*] So *binis vicibus*, just below. Tighernach records a former appearance of the same disease in Ireland in 550, which Adamnan may have included 'nostris temporibus'. See too the Four Masters under 543 and 548. Under the latter date they call this 'the first Buidhe Chonaill' (jaundice). Their authorities are of course the original annals.

29. *Italia*, etc.] The Four Masters record under 543 'an extraordinary universal plague through the world, which swept away the noblest third part of the human race'. How it affected St. Columba is related above. See Intr. vi. § 3.

34. *Britanniae*] In later Lives it is said that St. Columba by his prayers during the former plague obtained that it should not pass the Moyola water into Ulster. See above, Intr. vi. § 4. The *Scoti Britanniae* were the Irish colony which had existed in some form even before the Dalriadic settlement in 502.

35. *montes*] See *Britanniae Dorsum*, i. 34 n., p. 110, l. 31, p. 204.

PAGE 162. 7. *anicum*] On the relations between Adamnan and Aldfrith, and on this visit, see Intr. viii. § 10.

9. *bellum Ecgfridi*] The expedition into Ireland reprobated by Bede in *H. E.* iv. 26, A.D. 684, when Ecgfrith sent Berct, his general, 'and miserably wasted that harmless nation.' The invasion may have been occasioned by the Irish having harboured Aldfrith. Ecgfrith was slain in battle with the Picts in the following year.

10. *secunda*] Adamnan visited his royal pupil at least twice in Northumbria, partly in order to obtain the return of captives taken by Berct. 'Adomnanus captivos reducit ad Hiberniam sexaginta.' *Ann. Ult.* s. a. 686. Tighernach dates this visit 687, and has a similar entry, s. a. 689.

## LIB. III

PAGE 163. 1. *Capitula*] Supplied from Cod. B. See note above, p. 123, l. 1, p. 210.

PAGE 165. 24. *peplum*] Reeves refers to a similar vision of a tree, in the Life of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise (*Cod. Marshii*, cap. 21), interpreted by St. Enna. Also to a mother's vision about her son Finnian, in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 393 a; *Acta SS. Hib. Salm.*, col. 189.

PAGE 166. 3. *superare*] The old Irish Life seems to imply that it reached from Clew Bay, on the coast of Mayo, to the N.E. coast of Scotland.

14. *nutritor*] Foster-father. Many Irish saints are described as placed in childhood with clerical guardians. So St. Cuthbert in the Irish *Libellus de ortu*, cap. xv. Joseph is styled by Adamnan 'Domini Iesu nutritor' (*De Loc. Sanct.* i. 14). Cp. 2 Kings (4 Reg.) x. 5, in the Vulgate. On fosterage in Ireland, see O'Curry, *Manners*, etc., ii. 355, 375; *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Indices; and Joyce, *Hist.* 85. Broichan the Druid was a *nutricius* or foster-father (or foster-son?) of King Brude, p. 146.

15. *Cruithnechanus*] Cruithnechan, diminutive of Cruithnech, Pict.

17. *lucē*] A regular incident in hagiology, as in the cases of St. Cuthbert and St. Wilfrid, and of four Irish saints mentioned by Reeves, who cites two classical examples, Verg. *Aen.* ii. 682; Liv. i. 39, to which we may add the case of Aesculapius, in Pausanias, II. xxvi. 4.

26. *synodo*] It is not known when this synod was held, or for what St. Columba was condemned. Ussher places it in 561. (*Wks.* vi. 468, and Chronological Index.)

31. *Brendenus*] St. Brendan, founder of Birr, of the race of Corb Aulam, to be distinguished from St. Brendan of Clonfert. He died on the night before Nov. 29, his day in the Calendar, probably in 573. Ann. Tighernach at 559 has 'Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo in aerem'.

32. *Birra*] Genitive of Bior or Bir, a stream, here that on which the monastery stood, in the present King's County. The town Birr is now called Parsonstown. The Moyola water was also called Bior.

PAGE 167. 11. *famen*] Reeves gives *tamen*, but Cod. A. has *famen*; cp. ῥῆμα; Adamnan could scarcely know רָמָה. *Famen* occurs again in iii. 15.

*hi*] The Irish preposition for *in*, often found before proper names elsewhere, e.g. in Muirchu, Stokes, *Tripart.* 283, 'cuius reliquiae adorantur hi Sleibti,' i. e. in Sletty, and in the *Tripartite* (*ib.* 222), *ocus luid for muir hicurach oenseiched*, 'and he went on the sea in a coracle of one hide.' So in the Calendar 'of Oengus', ed. Stokes, clxxv; H. B. S. 250, *hicurchan cenchodail*, 'in a coracle without a hide.'

12. *Teilte*] A place in Meath between Kells and Navan, famous in early times for its great Lammass fair, also a seat of royalty;

hence, like Tara, a suitable place for a synod. It is now called Teltown, a name formed from *Tailteann*, the Irish genitive. The great circular rath, about 100 paces in diameter, still remains in fair preservation. It was 'till recently resorted to by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling, and other manly sports', says Dr. O'Donovan in his note in *Four Masters*, vol. i, p. 22 (1856), but in 1893 a car-driver from Kells drove past it and found it at last with some difficulty.

13. *Finnio*] Cummian calls him Finnianus. Probably St. Finnian of Moville is meant, as he was certainly a bishop, and St. Columba was *iuvénis*. But there is no reference to St. Columba in the Life of that St. Finnian, while in the Life of St. Finnian of Clonard, who, however, is only called a bishop in one place, Columba is mentioned as a disciple, and the present interview is referred to. On the same uncertainty, see note on ii. 1, p. 126, l. 6, p. 211.

23. *iisdem diebus*] In Cummian the third chapter ends 'qui sui commeatu habere meruit angelum Domini', and the fourth chapter begins 'Hiisdem diebus', etc., and then proceeds to relate the miracle of the water and wine (*supra*, ii. 1). As St. Columba is described as *iuvénis* by both writers in both connexions, *iisdem* must be taken in a wide sense, for he was forty-two when he sailed over into Britain with twelve disciples.

24. *discipulis*] Their names are given in Cod. B. in a later, though early, hand, probably from records preserved at Iona, thus: 'Duo filii Brenden, Baithene, qui et Conin, sancti successor Columbae; et Cobthach, frater eius; Ernaan, sancti avunculus Columbae; Diormitius, eius ministrator; Rus et Fechno, duo filii Rodain; Scandal filius Bresail filii Endei filii Neil; Luguid Mocuthemne; Echoid; Tochanna Mocufircetea; Cairnaan filius Branduib filii Meilgi; Grillaan.' See Reeves, 1857, p. 245; 1874, pp. lxxi, 228, for ref. to other places where the list appears, and for notes on the names.

31. *vitreum librum*] Perhaps so called from glass or crystal on its covers. Note, however, that this is not a description of an actual book, but only of an imaginary *codex* seen in an ecstatic vision, like that related by Bede, in which 'candidum codicem protulerunt angeli, deinde atrum daemones'. *H. E.* v. 13.

34. *commendatum*] This word seems to refer to some special recommendation with regard to Aedhan which Columba thought he saw in the book, probably a suggestion of his own conscience mingling with the vision.

37. *flagello*] In a fragment of Caius (c. A.D. 200) preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 28) it is told how one Natálius, who had been a 'bishop' among heretics, was severely beaten by holy angels for a whole night. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* ii. 131. Bede relates how Laurence, Archbishop of Canterbury, had a vision in which he was scourged by St. Peter for thinking of forsaking his flock (*H. E.* ii. 6; see also Alcuin in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 519, and Laurence's epitaph in Elmham's *Hist. Mon. S. Aug. Cant.*, Rolls Ser., p. 149).



St. Jerome writes how he was scourged while in an ecstasy for his love of heathen literature (*Ep.* xxii. § 30). See Bright's *Chapters of E. E. Ch. Hist.* 103. In the life of St. Corpreus of Clonmacnoise it is related how Malachi I, king of Ireland, was scourged by demons. Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* 508. Symeon relates how St. Cuthbert appeared to one Ralph (probably Flambard) in his sleep, and smote the oppressor of his people with his crosier. *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* iii. 20.

PAGE 168. 10. *prophetizavit*] For a similar prophecy, see i. 9.

12. *benedixit*] Conventional rather than episcopal rank was the qualification most considered for the consecrator of a Scotie king. And St. Columba stood in the same relation to the Dalriadic kings that the abbot of Armagh occupied towards the sovereigns of Ireland.

13. *Cummeneus Albus*] Seventh abbot of Iona. See *Intr.*viii. § 6.

*libro*] The Life of St. Columba by Cumman. It is the first Life in Colgan's collection, *Tr. Th.* 321-324, though published by him as anonymous, under the mistaken belief that the second Life therein is Cumman's. It was afterwards published, with small variations, in the works mentioned above, in the Preface, p. vii.

28. *Roth*] Magh Rath, supposed to be Moira in county Down. The battle was fought in 637.

*nepote*] Grandson; he was son of Eochodius Buidhe, who as a child had rushed into St. Columba's arms, and been named by him to succeed his father as king (i. 9). From this use of *nepos* comes the use of 'nephew' for 'grandson', formerly common, as in 1 Tim. v. 4, A.V.; 'grandchildren' in R.V.

29. *nepotis*] Grandson, being son of Aedh, son of Ainmire.

30. *in proclivo ab extraneis*] In decline or decadence caused by strangers.

36. *Brito*] A British monk at Iona, probably St. Odhran.

PAGE 169. 1. *plateola*] See note on *platea*, i. 50, p. 121, l. 37, p. 210.

9. *agonothetae*] Originally the superintendent of the public contests in games, here applied to Christ as the witness of a conflict.

10. *primus mortuus est*] There is a curious story in the old Irish Life, quoted by Reeves here, about St. Odhran expressing his willingness to be the first to be buried in Iona, and then dying. The principal and now only cemetery in Iona is still called *Reilig Orain*, the cemetery of Odhran, *Reilig* or *Relic* being a common Irish term for a cemetery, and connected with *Reliquiae*. Legends of voluntary death immediately after reception of the Viaticum abound in Celtic hagiology. See Todd, *S. P.* 451-465. But the story of Odhran belongs to a different class of legends.

22. *Anteriorum*] See i. 43 n., p. 117, l. 1, p. 207.

*Indairthir*] Compounded of *ind*, an old form of article in nom. pl., and *airthir*, easterns.

40. *remotiozem . . . locum*] Probably the sequestered hollow where the so-called 'Culdees' cell' is. See above, p. 61 n.

PAGE 170. 7. *sudibus*] Properly stakes, but here the iron darts just mentioned; perhaps to be taken figuratively as referring to the pestilences mentioned below. Cp. Ps. xci. 5 (xc. 6, Vulg.). Hom. II. A. 48.

8. *armatura apostoli*] Eph. vi. 13-17. Bede represents St. Cuthbert as using the same spiritual armour when he drove the fiends from Farne. *Vit. S. C.* 17.

19. *effugati sunt*] There is a wild legend of later date to the effect that after St. Patrick had driven the demons into the sea they emerged and dwelt in the savage wilds of Seangleann in SW. Donegal, where they remained undisturbed until St. Columba at the bidding of an angel drove them once for all into the sea after a violent conflict, and with the help of his bell, the *Dubhduibseach*. The parish of Glencolumbcille derives its name from this legend, as told by Manus O'Donnell in 1520. *Colg. Tr. Th.* 403 b.

26. *collectio*] Called *congregatio* just below.

30. *monasteriis*] Adamnan mentions Artchain as well as Campus Lunge, and, considering its extent, the ecclesiastical remains and names of places from Saints, etc. are very numerous in Tiree.

37. *mediterranea*] Durrow is placed there in i. 3, where see note, p. 95, l. 16, p. 195. Cp. Joyce, *Hist.* 179.

PAGE 171. 2. *Columbus Coilriginus*] A smith in mid Ireland, possibly of the tribe Cailraighe. 'Colum Gobha, 'the smith,' is in the Calendars at June 7. 'Supra memoratus', i.e. in the *Capitula*, p. 163.

4. *emax*] Fond of buying, like *edax*, *bibax*, *furax*, etc.

17. *Saxo*] See i. I n., p. 91, l. 42, p. 193.

*pistor*] Colgan and the Bollandists, perhaps misled by an error in a transcript, here read *pictor*. This reading has led Keller and Westwood to refer to the passage as supposed evidence of the cultivation of painting or illumination in Iona, while Dr. John Smith, in his *Life of St. Columba*, has accused Colgan 'and other Catholics' of wilfully altering the word to justify paintings.

37. *natalis*] See ii. 45 n., p. 161, l. 8, p. 223.

38. *missarum*] The term *missa* was, as here, commonly applied to the Eucharistic service, but was not limited to it. See Intr. iv. § 7, and note on *vespertinalem missam*, ch. 23, p. 183, l. 19, p. 233.

PAGE 172. 3. *nocte praeterita*] As in the case of St. Columba, the death during the night was commemorated on the following day. *Hac in nocte*, 'this last night,' is used of the previous night in ch. 12; cp. Cummian, viii. (*nocte in hac*).

13. *obsequia*] From the classical senses of obedience, and military service, naturally followed the ecclesiastical senses of pomp, ceremony, ritual. *Obsequia* here means 'ritual requirements'. *Obsequium* and *obsequiae* came to be used especially of funeral rites, for which special ritual was employed; hence our word *obsequies*.

14. *in Dominico*] We have here an early example of the 'Sunday dinner'.

16. *hac in nocte*] See note on ch. 11, p. 172, l. 3, on this page.

19. *mysteria*] Cummián adds 'pro anima sancta quae nocte in hac inter angelos vecta est'. See note on ch. 11.

22. *albat*] Used again in chs. 16 and 23, and probably with reference to linen vestures, not to white as a 'liturgical colour'. 'Sabbati' is another instance of corruption of the text in Colgan and the Bollandists.

23. *cum modulatione*] See i. 42 n., p. 116, l. 10, p. 207.

24. *deprecatio*] The *Oratio super Diptycha*, represented in the Roman Mass by the *Memento Domine* in the Canon. The Gallican form of the prayer as used at Arles is given by Mabillon (*De Liturg. Gall.*, lib. i, cap. 5, num. 12, p. 43) and by Reeves in his note here. Something like this prayer was probably used by the early Irish Church. St. Martin was held in special veneration in the Celtic Church by reason of St. Patrick's alleged association with him. The inclusion of his Life in the Book of Armagh may thus be accounted for.

26. *Hodie*] Immediately before this word Cummián says 'Et inter sacra sancti sacrificii mysteria'.

27. *decantare debetis*] St. Columba directed them to add the name of Columbanus after that of Martin, and perhaps composed on the spot Proper prayers like those in Neale and Forbes' *Ancient Liturgies*, e.g. on p. 305. The seventh-century MS. from which these were taken came from the Irish monastery of Bobbio (*ib.* p. 205). On prayer for the dead, see Warren, ch. ii. § 10.

28. *Columbanus*] sive *Colmanus Mocu Loigse*, i.e. Mac U Loighse, of the clan descended from Loigsech Cennmor, son of Conall Cernach, a famous hero of the first century.

*Lagenensis*] 'In (not of) Leinster', diocesan episcopacy being then unknown in Ireland.

31. *Lagenica provincia*] Leinster. The original name was Galian; this is said to have been changed to Laighen not from the name of a man, but from the use there of a peculiar broad-pointed spear so called. On the termination *-ster*, see p. 94, l. 42, p. 195.

32. *revelatum est*] The whole narrative is very similar to that of the death of Haduuald in Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, ch. 34.

37. *signo*] See ii. 42 n., p. 157, l. 33, p. 221.

39. *Stagno Vituli*] In Irish, Loch Laoigh, now Belfast Lough.

PAGE 173. 13. *Nisae fluminis lacum*] Loch Ness.

17. *naturale bonum*] See i. 33 n., and *Ancient Laws*, iii. 27: 'The law of nature was with the men of Erin until the coming of the faith in the time of Laeghaire son of Niall. It was in his time Patrick came.'

22. *Airchart-dan*] Glen Urquhart, locally pronounced *Arochdan*.

32. *tuguriolo*] See note on i. 25.

35. *ad ianuam stantes*] From this passage and those referred to in note on i. 25, it would seem that St. Columba while sitting in his cell was usually attended by one or two of the brethren, to receive orders, or take part in study.

40. *magnae domus*] In the heading, *monasterii rotundi*. Dr. Petrie

has shown that an ecclesiastical round tower is almost certainly what is meant. (*Round Towers*, 1845, p. 387; but his account of the MSS. and edd. is wrong; see Reeves here.) Reeves observes that this passage points to the primary use of round towers as monastic abodes distinct from the small cells, before they acquired the name of *Cloc teach* or *Campanile* from a secondary use. The building of this *maior domus* seems to be referred to in i. 29. Notker Balbulus says 'Cum sederet in quadam insula scribens, et in alia domus altissima aedificaretur, et quidam de culmine eius enormis fabricae ad terram corruere coepisset', etc. (Martyrol. Jun. 9, in Canisii *Lect. Antiq.*, Amst. 1725, t. II, pars iii, p. 140). Petrie does not seem to have known of this passage, which is quoted by Reeves in ed. 1857, p. 217. Notker (of St. Gall) died 912.

PAGE 174. 1. *famen*] See iii. 3 n., p. 167, l. 11, p. 225.

10. *celerrime*] Cp. Dan. ix. 21.

17. *campulum*] See i. 37 n., p. 112, l. 24, p. 205.

18. *nemo me sequatur*] Not even the ordinary field-work was to interfere with the privacy of the saint.

20. *callidus explorator*] Like the Coldingham brother who stole out at night to watch St. Cuthbert praying in the sea. Bede, *Vit. S. C.* x. See p. 178, l. 21, p. 231.

21. *monticelli*] Probably *Cnoc Orain*, between the monastery and the Machar, and commanding a view of the Colliculus Angelorum.

PAGE 175. 13. *Cnoc Angel*] See p. 159, l. 19, p. 222. From *sidh*, pronounced *shee*, comes the Irish *bean-sidhe* (Banshee), woman of the fairy mansions, *sidhe* signifying not only the fairies, but their habitations. Joyce, vol. i. 179, *Hist.* 139; O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 504, and see 'Banshee' in *N.E.D.*

17. *orantem*] O'Donnell states that St. Columba recited the Psalter every night immersed in cold water. As to St. Cuthbert, see iii. 16 n., p. 174, l. 20, on this page. Hence the couplet under a painting at Carlisle Cathedral,

Her stude he nakyd in y<sup>e</sup> se

to all dauid psalter sayd had he.

St. Godric used to pray naked in the Wear the night through, hindered neither by ice nor by snow (*Libell. de Vita S. Godr.*, Surtees Soc., cap. xxxiii, p. 85). Reeves gives a number of references to Irish hagiology for subjecting the body to extreme cold. Add to these, for St. Patrick, Fiacc's Hymn, and a Homily, in *Tripartite*, 407, 485.

38. *post Evangelii lectionem*] This looks as if the Gospel was read outside the little church, to persons in the position of catechumens (cp. Bona, *Rev. Lit.*, lib. I, cap. xvi. § 1). But there seems to be no positive evidence of such an arrangement. Cummian's words are, 'Sed illi post Evangelii recitationem viderunt quandam,' etc.

41. *crinosum*] Hairy, a word added by Adamnan to Cummian's account, to explain that the globe of fire had a tail like a comet.

Reeves cites a parallel from Sulp. Severus's *Life of St. Martin*, 'Globum ignis de capite eius vidimus emicare, ita ut in sublime contendens longum admodum crinem flamma produceret.' Gwynn, 413*b*.

PAGE 176. 24. *alumnum*] See Intr. viii. § 1, and iii. 2 n., p. 166, l. 14, p. 225. St. Columba appears to have been *nutritor* or foster-father to Baithene.

29. *Egea insula*] The island of Eig or Egg, where St. Donnan, an Irishman and disciple of St. Columba, founded a monastery, and was put to death with his congregation of fifty-two by pirates in 617. After him the church of the island and ten others were called Kildonan.

34. *huic ecclesiae*] Sc. that of Iona.

37. *deservio*] Referring to Adamnan's abbacy, 679-704.

39. *Virgnous*] Fergna Brit, fourth abbot of Iona. Intr. viii. § 3.

PAGE 177. 2. *exedra*] The Erdamh or side-house of a Celtic church; see Intr. iv. § 2, and Petrie, *Round Towers*, 1845, 437-444.

40. *mentionem*] See i. 17, p. 101.

PAGE 178. 15. *alumno*] See iii. 18 n., p. 176, l. 24, on this page, and Joyce, *Hist.* 87. Berchan was probably another pupil under 'literary fosterage'.

16. *Mesloen*] 'A remarkable form of name, which the editor is unable to illustrate' (Reeves).

21. *callideque explorans*] Cp. ch. 16, p. 174.

28. *Hac in nocte*] This last night, as in ch. 12, p. 172.

29. *infitalis*] It does not appear that Berchan had actually denied his inquisitiveness; the word may stand as a strong expression for 'disingenuous'.

35. *eruerentur*] O'Donnell has a curious story of one who peeped through the keyhole of the church door at St. Columba, and whose eye was picked out through the hole by a tame crane that had followed the saint into the church. (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 408*b*, *Acta SS.* 640 (644*b*).) A similar story is told in the metrical *Life of St. Senan*. (*Acta SS.* 517 (607*a*).) See further in Reeves.

PAGE 179. 5. *Alio in tempore*] In 593, thirty years after his coming to Iona, and four years before his death.

10. *sapida*] savoury. Cp. 'Book of the Angel' in Stokes, *Trip.* 354, 'anchoritae aeclessiae et caeteri religiosi laudes sapidas offerunt.' Gwynn, 41*b*.

12. *ad ianuam*] See ch. 15 n., p. 173, l. 35, p. 229.

13. *eminentiore loco*] Perhaps a raised platform. See i. 25 n., p. 106, l. 9, p. 201, and ii. 28 n., p. 143, l. 12, p. 216.

15. *Saxo*] See i. 1 n., p. 91, l. 42, p. 193.

37. *rupe*] The rocky coast of the Ross of Mull over against Iona; see the Duke of Argyll's *Iona*, frontispiece, 'View from the Reilig Odhrain'; also cp. i. 25 n., p. 106, l. 8, p. 201.

PAGE 180. 7. *quatuor terminatis annis*] So St. Wilfrid. 'Ecce alter Hezekias.' *Ripon Offices*, p. 23. Eddii *Vita Wilfr.*, cap. 56.

22. *libro*] See ii. 28, p. 143.

23. *in occidua parte*] In the Machar or *campulus occidentalis*.

25. *Aprili peracta*] Easter-day fell on Apr. 14 in 597.

26. *desiderio desideravi*] St. Luke xxii. 15. A Hebraism, perhaps exactly representing our Lord's words.

36. *libello*] See ii. 28, p. 143.

*tr̄sulcarum linguarum*] Adamnan has followed Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 639), Pliny (*N. H.* xi. 161), and others in this mistake. Serpents' tongues are bifid, not trifid. Ovid (*Metam.* ix. 65) rightly has *linguam bisulcam*. So Shakespeare (*Mids. Night's Dream*, Act. II, Sc. 2), 'You spotted snakes, with double tongue,' and Tennyson, *In Mem.* cx, 'To flicker with his double tongue.'

PAGE 181. 5. *Corde*, etc.] The Vulgate of Prov. xv. 13 is, 'Cor gaudens exhilarat faciem.'

17. *parasticiam*] An unexplained word, probably denoting the stone roof, called *culmen ecclesiae* in the *Vita Secunda* of Colgan, cap. 30 (*Tr. Th.* 329 a).

26. *sabbati*] See i. 16 n., p. 101, l. 22, p. 199.

29. *sequestratos*] Either 'reserved' or 'winnowed'.

PAGE 182. 1. *Haec*, etc.] Saturday.

5. *sabbatizo*] 1. To keep the Sabbath proper. 2. To rest, as in the capitula of St. Boniface cited by Ducange, 'diebus Dominicis sabbatizare.' St. Columba would use the word with reference to Heb. iv. 9.

6. *nocte*] The night preceding Sunday, on which the Sunday services begin. As to whether St. Columba died in 596 or in 597, and whether at Pentecost or not, see Reeves, 1857, pp. 309-312. He shows that 597 is the more likely date.

*Scripturarum*] The reference is to Josh. xxiii. 14 and 1 Kings (3 Reg.) ii. 2, 'Ego ingredior viam universae terrae' (Vulg.).

15. *molari lapidi*] A disused millstone would make a good base and socket for a wayside cross. See note on i. 45, p. 118, l. 31, p. 208.

18. *caballus*] Sometimes spoken of as 'the old white horse'. Its age is not mentioned in the text, but its actions as described are those of an old familiar friend.

19. *bocetum*] For *bucetum*, cow-house, or perhaps cow-pasture. Colgan's *Vita Secunda* here has *bostarium*. See Glossary.

27. *flebilem*] Weeping; cp. 'lamentable' in Dan. vi. 20, A. V.

37. *supereminentem*] See i. 30 n. Dr. Reeves thought that the Reilig Orain was on the site of the original monastery, which site, however, was perhaps 'within the circular enclosure, a little to the north, just outside the wall enclosing the present cathedral ruins' (Healy, 318), and if so, the *mons* or *monticellus* mentioned here and in i. 30 may well have been an isolated rocky knoll a little outside the remains of the vallum. Torr Abb, which is due west of the cathedral church, hardly seems to command the more northern site so well. But if the present ruins stand on the original site, Torr Abb must be the *monticellus* of the text. See Intr. vii. § 2.

PAGE 183. 2. *honorem*] Iona was a favourite burial-place of kings and chieftains for many centuries.

8. *deficient*] This quotation, like Ps. l. (li.) 18, p. 108, l. 31, p. 203,

is from the *Psalterium Romanum*. Both are important as showing that the older version, or else, as in the case of the Book of Kells, a text of the Vulgate with some readings from the Old Latin, was in use at Iona. (Ps. xxxiii. 11, Vulg., or xxxiv. 10.)

13. *Venite*, etc.] Ps. xxxiii. 12, Vulg. or xxxiv. 11.

19. *vespertinalem missam*] The first Vespers of the Sunday, said on Saturday evening, called *missa* in ii. 5, p. 129. So Ducange, '*Missa*, pro quovis Ecclesiastico officio quod in aedibus sacris peragebatur, interdum sumitur.' The original meaning was the same as *missio* or *dimissio*, and the term seems to have been applied to any service at the end of which the congregation was dismissed, though the connexion is not quite clear, and finally to the Eucharist alone. The reading of Cod. B. would require *vespertinale*, a reading not recorded by Reeves.

23. *lapidem*] St. Kieran of Saiger and St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise both, like Jacob, used stones for their pillows. (Colg. *Acta SS.* 471 a; *Cod. Marshii*, 147 bb).

24. *titulus*] Usually an inscription or epitaph, but often in the Vulgate, etc., a pillar simply, as in Gen. xxviii. 18, 22. See Rönisch, 326. The meaning is that the stone pillow stood by the grave telling its own tale. A stone marked with a cross, and exactly of a form suitable for a pillow, is still shown at Iona as that of St. Columba. Woodcut in Huyshe, 186.

31. *interpellabo*] See ii. 45 n., p. 161, l. 6, p. 223.

40. *media nocte*] He had previously attended the *vespertinalis missa*, rested on his bed, and spoken farewell words to Diormit. He now rose for Matins and perhaps Lauds, referred to below in the expression *hymnis matutinalibus finitis*.

*clocca*] See i. 8n., p. 98, l. 16, p. 197. Cummin here has *campana*.

PAGE 184. 14. *didicimus*] Adamnan was born twenty-seven years after the death of Columba, and came to Iona before he was twenty-eight (Intr. viii. § 9), so that he might very well have known many who knew St. Columba.

19. *dexteram manum*] According to the appropriate and universal custom. Bishops have always held the crosier in the left hand while blessing with the right, and are commonly so represented.

33. *Cloni Finchoil*] *Cluain finchoill*, 'meadow of the white hazel.' Perhaps Rosnarea, on the Boyne, or in Leix, Queen's Co.

PAGE 185. 3. *cantica*] So in the Ripon Offices of St. Wilfrid, we read, 'eadem hora non sine magno stupore astantium quidam mirae dulcedinis avium concentus auditus est in nube; fuitque sapientum opinio quod esset congratulatio angelorum.' This singing was at his death; the voices were heard again at his burial. *Offices*, Ripon, 1893, p. 27. Eddii *Vitu Wilfr.* 62, 63.

6. *Virgnous*] called *Fergnous* above, p. 184, l. 37.

8. *remigans*] When we bear in mind the extensive use of oars in marine navigation, as above, ii. 42, 45, there seems to be no occasion, either here or a little below, p. 186, l. 20, for Reeves's suggestion of *remigrans*. (Glossary, ed. 1857, s. v.)

11. *duodecim*] See note on i. 22, p. 105, l. 13, p. 201.

12. *Muirbulcmar*] 'Sea-inlet of the sea.' Possibly in Hinba or Elena insula (Eilean na Naomh), where there are beehive cells that may have been tenanted by Virgnous. See Elena insula, ii. 18 n., p. 136, l. 20, p. 214.

20. *Ernene*] In Latin *Ferreolus*. Ernan or Ernin is a diminutive of the old word *iarn*, 'iron,' now written *iarann* (with furtive vowel). Cod. D. gives the name in the modern form *Iarannan*.

*Mocufirroidie*] Mocu or Mac-ua-Fir-Roidhe. For Roidhe cp. *Korkureti*, i. 47 n., p. 119, l. 13, p. 209, and for Mocu see Glossary.

22. *Dorsum Tomme*] Druim thuama, now Drumhome, co. Donegal. See Joyce, i. 14.

23. *expectat*] So the Irish saints used to speak of the place where they would be buried, as the place of their resurrection.

*iuveni*] See iii. 23 n., p. 184, l. 14, p. 233.

27. *Fendae*] The Finn, co. Donegal, a tributary of the Foyle.

38. *fluminales piscinas*] Fish-pools; a pool in a river is called *piscina Berachi* in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Aug. Tom. iii. 660 b, and in Cod. Salmant., col. 896, from a miracle of St. Berachus related in the Acts of St. Dagaeus.

PAGE 186. 5. *hymnis matutinalibus*] Matins, and perhaps Lauds.

8. *ternis*, etc.] See Intr. iv. § 12. But St. Patrick's obsequies are said to have lasted for twelve days, St. Senan's for eight. Seven was the pagan number. (Stokes, *Tripartite*, p. 255; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 533 a, 537 a).

12. *ratabusta*] This unique and unexplained term must denote a coffin or a tomb. Reeves suggests that *rata* may have crept into the text from *praeparata*, or be the fem. of *ratus*, *fixed* (mentally), agreeing with *busta*, a *box*, or perhaps a form of *bustum*, a *grave*. Surius reads *intra busta* and the Bollandists in *catabusta*, but Colgan, in *ratâ bustâ*.

29. *prohibente*] In Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, ch. 36, is a story of a storm that arose to punish certain brethren by detaining them when they hesitated to accept his hospitality in Farne. After a while the storm-stayed and doubtless hungry visitors overcame their shyness, and began to boil the goose which St. Cuthbert had offered to them. Then it came to pass that, as the pot boiled up, so did the sea cease from its boiling.

34. *quanti et qualis*] This expression, here taken from Cummian, is used by Adamnan in the *De Locis Sanctis* (Migne, *P. L.* 88, col. 581), 'quanti vel qualis honoris haec electa et praedicabilis civitas,' i. e. Jerusalem. So in Peter Abelard's hymn, 'O quanta qualia sunt illa Sabbata.' *H. A. and M.* 235.

PAGE 187. 8. *stolas*] The word used in the Vulgate of Rev. vii. 14, etc. *Stola* (στολή) originally meant any long outer garment, especially that worn by the Roman matrons, and it is sometimes so used in ecclesiastical Latin, as in the Ambrosian hymn, 'Ad coenam Agni providi, Et stolis albis candidi,' referring to the baptismal



robes at Easter. It is used of the chasuble, or, like our word 'vestment', of a set of vestments. (*Dict. Christian Ant.* s.v.) It is not clear how the term came to be applied to the long band now known as a 'stole'. The most probable explanation is that this band was at first the ornamental border of the original *stola*, which has remained as a survival.

13. *saeculorum*] See ii. 32 n., p. 145, l. 36, p. 217.

24. *pausant ossa*] This expression alone would show that the author wrote earlier than the ninth century, before which time St. Columba's remains were enshrined. Bede uses the words *ipse sepultus est* in *H. E.* iii. 4. On St. Columba's shrine and its migrations, see Reeves, 1857, 312-318. For the use of *pausare* and its derivatives (cp. Greek ἀναπαύσασθαι), see note 140, in Warren, p. 264. 'In the old Irish Annals, the death of an ecclesiastic is generally expressed by *dormivit*, *quievit*, *pausavit*, or *obiit*; that of a layman by *mortuus*, *iugulatus*, or *occisus est*, as the case might be. *De Loc. Sanct.* ii. 10.' (Reeves, 1857, in Glossary.)

28. *nostram Scotiam*] Adamnan's own country, Ireland, p. 71.

31. *commoratus*] A nominative absolute, 'though he lived.' A very common construction in Irish Lives. Plummer, l. xcv.

32. *trigonam*] This term is more obviously applicable to Trinacria (Sicily), but it is applied to Spain by Aethicus in his *Cosmography*, printed with Pomponius Mela, etc., Leyden, 1722, p. 729. For evidence of a colony from Britain in Spain (Gallicia), see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. ii, pt. i. 99 ff. The knowledge of St. Columba might reach Spain through this colony.

*Alpes Peninas*] The Pennine Alps, between the Valais and Upper Italy.

35. *noscibilis*] The non-Irish writers who have mentioned St. Columba are Bede, Alcuin, Walafridus Strabo, and Notker Balbulus, all later than Adamnan. Bede did not know either Cumman's or Adamnan's Life. See *H. E.* iii. 4, '*feruntur scripta haberi*.'

40. *Obsecro*] There is a similar adjuration preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 20) from a work by Irenaeus now lost, as also, in a Latin translation, by St. Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* § 35). This is the oldest colophon of the kind by a Christian writer. Cp. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

42. *emendat*] See note on i. 23, p. 105, l. 28, p. 201.

PAGE 188. 3. *Quicumque*, etc.] There are colophons more or less similar in other famous Irish MSS., as for example in Mac Regol's Gospels, 'Macregol dipin|xit hoc euangelium: Quicum|que legerit | Et intellexerit | istam narratio|nem orat pro | macreguil scrip- to|ri,' in a coloured border of Irish patterns (*Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*, Surtees Soc., part iv, frontispiece). In the Book of Armagh, the scribe, who died in 845, appends at the ends of various portions 'pro ferdomnacho ores', and at the end of all a Latin colophon in Greek letters. The colophon of the Book of Durrow is, 'Rogo beatitudinem | tuam s̄c̄e praesbiter | patrici ut

quicumque | hunc libellum manu te|nuerit meminerit colum|bae scriptoris. qui hoc scripsi | himet euangelium per xii | dierum spatium gtia dñi nri s.s.' The only doubtful letters are 'hi' before 'met'; the colophon appears to be a copy, 'mi' being omitted by a scribe's error. There is no contraction mark over 'gtia', nor is it known what the letters s.s. stand for. Below, 'in a more angular, but not later hand,' follows, 'Ora pro me fra|ter mi dñs tecum | sit.' (*Hermathena*, 1892, No. xviii, p. 199; *Book of Trinity College Dublin*, 159; Reeves, 1857, 242). Adamnan's *De Locis Sanctis* has a long colophon, which Reeves gives from Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. ii, p. 472. Venet. 1734.

4. *Dorbeneo*] *Dorbhene*, the scribe who wrote Codex A., is probably identical with a *Dorbhene* who was abbot of Iona for five months in 713. See account of the MS. in the Preface. I am indebted to the Librarian of the Stadtbibliothek at Schaffhausen for a tracing of the original colophon, which is in red letters and in the following form :—

Qui cum q: hoꝝ uirtutum  
libelloꝝ colúbae lege  
rit pro me dorbeneo  
dm deprecetur . ut ui  
tam poꝛt moꝛtem eter  
nam porredcam

# GLOSSARY

*An asterisk denotes that a word occurs more than once on the same page.*

## A

- Abdicare**, to reject, 155.  
**Absolvere**, to release, from slavery, 146, 151; from difficult childbirth, 155.  
**Accola**, a resident, 110, 111, 142.  
**Aesteus**, for *aestivus*, 127, &c.  
**Agellulus**, a double diminutive of *ager*, 86, &c.  
**Agonotheta**, ἀγωνοθέτης, used of Christ, 169 n. Cf. Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3, 'Bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo agonothetes Deus vivus est.' Migne, *P. L.* 1, col 624. But *agonotheta* is more common.  
**Albatus**, clothed in white robes, 172 n., 174, 187.  
**Alnus**, a boat, 142 n.  
**Alumnus**, a foster-son, 93, 176, 178\*.  
**Ambis**, for *ambabus*, 139.  
**Amhra**, a song of grief, elegy, song simply, 18. From Ir. *amor*, grief.  
**Amphibalus** (or -um), a cloak or cowl, 95, 130. Rönsch, 254.  
**Anmchara**, confessor, from the Irish *anim* and *cara*; literally soul-friend, 42, 64 n., 65.  
**Annuum**, for *annona*, 181.  
**Anrot**. See 18 n. No derivation really known.  
**Antiores**, easterns, 117 n., 169.  
**Appetibilis**, desirable, 94. Cf. Ambr. *Hexaem.* v. 21, 'vade ad apem . . . appetibilis est enim omnibus et cara.'  
**Appropriare**, to draw near, 179. Cf. Ex. iii. 5, Vulg.; Bede, *H. E.* iv. 3.

**Ascella**, for *axilla*, 106 n., 130 n. Not uncommon. See Rönsch, 96.  
**Axion**, ἄξων, an axle, 158. See **Humerulus**.

## B

- Barca**, a ship, 107 n.  
**Bard**. See 17 n.  
**Beehive cells**. See pp. 33, 34.  
**Benedictio**: (1) blessing, 152, 153, (2) the vehicle of blessing, 129 n., 130, 146.  
**Bibera**, a drinking-cup, 146 n.  
**Bocetum**, a booly (Irish *buaille*, from Lat. *bovile*), cow-pasture, or cow-byre, 182 n.  
**Bocula**, for *bucula*, 137, 138 n.  
**Bostarium**, equivalent to *bocetum*, 182 n.  
**Brehon**. See 19 n.  
**Busta**. See **Ratabusta**.

## C

**Canaba**, a kiln or kiln-house, 118 n. The building with a round pit at Eilean na Naomh (Skene's Reeves, 1874, p. 321, Anderson, *Scotland*, p. 99) has probably been a *canaba*. Carleton in *Traits*, &c., 1860, ii. 204, gives the following account of an 'Inside Kiln' in modern times: 'This kind of kiln is usually—but less so now than formerly—annexed to respectable farmers' out-houses, to which, in agricultural districts, it forms a necessary appendage. It also serves at the time as a barn, the

kiln-pot being sunk in the shape of an inverted cone at one end, but divided from the barn-floor by a wall about three feet high. From this wall beams run across the kiln-pot, over which, in a transverse direction, are laid a number of rafters like the joists of a loft, but not fastened. These ribs are covered with straw, over which again is spread a winnow cloth to keep the grain from being lost. The fire is sunk on a level with the bottom of the kiln-pot, that is, about eight or ten feet below the floor of the barn. The descent to it is by stairs formed at the side wall.' Such arrangements for artificial drying would be made necessary by the humid climate of Ireland and of the Hebrides.

**Capsellula**, a double diminutive, 129.

**Caraxare**, to write, Pref. 1 n., and *passim*. It is used by Apicius, who also has *incharaxare*, as well as by post-classical writers. Rönsch, 44, 255.

**Carminale**, a song, 185.

**Carnalis**, after the flesh, earthly, 106 n., 151; carnaliter, 111 n.

**Cashel**, an encircling stone-wall, Irish *caisel*, *caiseal*, 33.

**Cathach**, battle-book, 39, 56 n. Properly an adj. meaning 'war-like', from *cath*, battle.

**Caupallus**, a boat, 142 n.

**Celebratio**, see Intr. iii. § 2 n.

**Cellula**, 103 n.

**Clocca**, a bell, 98 n., 183.

**Co-arb**, Irish *comharbha* (pron. *coworba*), said to be derived from *comh* (cum), with, and *forba*, inheritance (Colg. Tr. Th. 630, col. 2), 15.

**Cognationalis**, related by kinship, 121 n., 151, 155.

**Collum**, the neck of a bottle or flask, 102 n.

**Condensatus**, united (in case of broken bone), 129 n.

**Condictum**, an appointment, in-

terview, convention, 120, 121, 130, 159, 160, 174. Not an uncommon word in ecclesiastical Latin; it occurs in the hymn *Altus Prosator*, attributed to St. Columba, thus, 'Quis ad condictum Domini | Montem conscendit Sinai.'

**Conficere**, to consecrate, 115, 118; an established liturgical expression. See Reeves, 1857, 85 n., 442.

**Contulus**, dim. of *contus*; a punt-pole (?), 142 n.; a stake, 149.

**Corniculum**, an inkhorn, 106.

**Craticula**, a gridiron, 104 n.

**Criniosus**, hairy, like a comet, 175 n.

**Cristilia**. The sole recorded instance of the word. The context shows that it must mean either bark or rust, from *crusta*, or a projecting knot or something of the kind, from *crista*; 119 n.

**Cumtach**, also *cumdach*, (1) building, (2) covering, (3) ornament; a book-shrine, 56 n.

**Curuca**, a coracle, 157 n., 160 n.

## D

**Damhliag**, stone church or house, from *dam* or *dom* = *domus*, and *liac* or *liag*, gen. of *lia*, a stone, 61.

**Deprecatio**, 172 n.

**Dialis**, divine, sacred, 93 n., and frequently.

**Diminutiva**. Reeves gives a list of eighty-three diminutives occurring in the present work. Ed. 1857, p. 442. Some are double, as *Agellulus*, *Capsellula*, *Monticellulus*. See above, p. 76.

**Dioecesis**, the district subject to the jurisdiction of the head of a federation of monasteries, such as Iona was, 111 n.

**Discursio**, journeying, 157.

**Disert**, a hermit's cell (*desertum*), 67 n.

**Dolare**, to carve ivory, 152; to hollow out trees for dug-out boats, 160 n.

**Domhnach Airgid**, lit. 'church of silver' = *dominica argenti*, a name of a shrine; hence the enshrined Gospels 'of St. Patrick', so called, 39.

**Dorsum**, a ridge, Irish *Druim*, in proper names. See Index s. v.

**Druid**. See 16 n. In an Irish MS. gloss on 2 Tim. iii. 8 Jannes and Jambres are called *druith*.

**Duirthech**, oratory, 61; 'i.e. *dair-thech*, i.e. a house of oak; not *deir-thech*, i.e. a house in which tears are shed; or *duair-thech*, i.e. a house in which words are poured out' (Transl. from MS. H. 2, 16 in Library of Trinity Coll., Dublin, in Petrie, *Round Towers*, 345). The meaning and etymology have been regarded as doubtful. Petrie prefers the first of the above. In usage it stands for *oratory* as distinct from *church of stone*, as in Annals of Ulster, A.D. 839, 'The burning of Armagh, with its *derthechs* and *daimhliag*.' See *Damhliag*, and Petrie, *R. T.* 120, 343-358.

**Dun**, an earthen rampart; 'two walls with water between them' (O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. iii. 572); Ir. *dun*, Norse *tun*, 33.

## E

**Elementum**, 126 n.

**Emax**, fond of buying, 171 n.

**Erdamh**. See **Exedra**.

**Eremus** (in oceano *vel* in mari), a desert island, 97 n., 103, 156.

**Esox**, a salmon, 136 n., 137, 149 n.

**Eulogia**, a gift (charm), 130 n.; the holy-bread, 133 n.

**Excussorium**, a threshing-floor, 137.

**Exedra**, *exedriola*, ἐξέδρα, the *erdamh* or side-house of a Celtic church, 177 n. The Greek word is frequently used by Josephus

in reference to the temple. Adamnan uses the Latin form in *De Loc. SS.* i. 8.

**Exenium**. See **Xenium**.

**Exequiae**, burial rites, 42, 116 n., 145, 186; *exequialia officia*, 186; *exequiales dies*, *ib.*

**Exintero**, for *exentero*, to eviscerate, 140.

**Explicit**, *expliciunt*, 125 n.

## F

**Famen**, literally a saying, hence a matter, event, 167 n., 174.

**Feria**, 101 n., 106 n.

**Ferrum**, a bronze spear-blade, 143 n.

**Festiva nox**, evē of a festival, 161 n.

**Filius**, the Gaelic Mac in proper names, frequently.

**Flebilis**, sorrowful, 182 n., 184.

**Floridus**, beautiful, 138 n., 166, 181.

**Fluminales piscinae**, fish-pools, 185 n.

**Fossula**, the part of a threshing floor in which the grain collects, 137.

**Fretum**, the Sound of Iona, frequently.

**Fulminalis**, like lightning, 177.

**Furunculus**, a poacher, 89 n.

## G

**Genitalia**, parentage, 87.

**Gens**, a clan, Irish *cenel*, 100, 103.

**Gentilis**, a heathen, 110 n., and frequently; *gentilicus*, heathen, 147, 173; *gentilitas*, heathenism, 91.

**Gergenna**, a wooden bar, 135 n.

**Graecismi**. The following words occur in the present work: Agonotheta, Axion, Caraxo, Eremus, Guberneta, Homonymus, Lithus, Onoma, Pira, Proselytus, Protus, Sophia, Trigonus. See p. 1 n.

**Guberneta**, κυβερνήτης, a pilot, 155.

## H

**Hauritorium**, a flask or bottle, or any vessel into which liquids could be drawn, 102 *n.* Cp. Cummian, cap. iv.

**Hi**, (1) Irish prep. for *in*, 167 *n.*; (2) a form of the name of Iona. In both cases the *h* is purely accentual, and *Hi* = *h-I*. (3) plural of *Hua* or *O'*, a grandson, 94 *n.*

**Hininglas**, the green water, i.e. the sea, 133 *n.*

**Hospitium**, guest-house, 151 *n.*

**Humerulus**, shoulder of axle, 158 *n.* Cf. 3 Reg. vii. 30, Vulg.

**Hymni matutinales**, Matins (and Lauds?), 186 *n.*

## I

**Indicibilis**, indescribable, 157, 174.

**Infitialis**, disingenuous, secret, 178.

**Ingeniculatio**, kneeling, 145 (*De Loc. SS.* iii. 4).

**Iniuriosus**, ill-behaved, 96.

**Innocentes**, women and children, 141 *n.*

**Insuadibilis**, obstinate, 139.

**Intingo**, to immerse or put into, 146; hence the liturgical term 'Intinction'.

**Intransmeabilis**, impassable, 156

**Irreverberatus**, undazzled, 177.

**Iudicialis**, condign, 104.

## L

**Labefactatio**, slipping or loosening, 158.

**Lacrimabilitas**, tearfulness, 180.

**Lapidum acervus**, a cairn, 110 *n.*

It should have been mentioned in the note that cairns are still raised in Scotland as well as in Ireland. By the side of the road leading from Glen More to Craignure in Mull is a cairn marking the grave of a well-known character, 'Jones the

Pedlar,' who was found dead in that lonely place in 1891, and buried there. A smaller cairn marks the exact spot where he had died.

**Laudes vespertinales**, vespers, 113 *n.*

**Leges poenitentiae**, the penitential canons, 105 *n.*, 151.

**Librarium folium**, a leaf of a book, 130 *n.*

**Lignum**, a boat, 112.

**Lis**, a homestead surrounded by an earthen rampart, Irish *liss* or *less*, Welsh *lys*, 33.

**Livrosus**, 'black and blue,' 167.

## M

**Maceria**, a cashel, 114 *n.*

**Magi**, Druids, 90 *n.*, 113, 132, 145\*, 147.

**Magna domus**, a round tower (?), 173 *n.*

**Marini vituli**, 115 *n.*

**Martyres**. See *Reliquiae*.

**Matrix ecclesia**, Iona, 97.

**Mediterranea pars**, the middle of Ireland, 95 *n.*, 170 *n.*

**Milito**, a soldier (fig.), 169.

**Minare**, to drive 123 *n.* Very common in the Vulgate. See Rönisch, 236.

**Missa nocturna**, vespers, 129 *n.*, 166; **vespertinalis**, 183 *n.*; **missarum solemnias**, the mass,

115, 161\*, 171 *n.*, 175, 181.

**Mocu** or **Maccu**, perhaps *Mac* + *ua*, or it may be a distinct word of similar meaning. See *Nepos*.

**Modius**. The *Roman* modius was 1.92 Engl. gall., or nearly a peck, 115, 127.

**Modulabilitur**, 116 *n.*

**Molaris lapis**, a millstone, 182 *n.* Possibly a mere block of stone, like *μύλας* in Homer (*Il.* xii. 161) or *molaes* in Vergil (*Aen.* viii. 250).

**Monasteriolum**, a little or subordinate monastery (?), 86 *n.*, 115, 156, 169.

**Monticellulus** (double dim.), 183 *n.*

Called also *mons*, 108, and *monticellus*, 182.

**Mortificatio**, slaying, 90, 124.

**Mos Romanorum**, stone building, 160 n.

**Mos Scottorum**, wood building, 160 n.

**Munitio**, a fortress, the Irish *dun*, or circular rampart, 33, 113, 120, 121 n., 128 n., 146, 148.

**Mysterium**, a hidden doctrine or exposition, 176; *sacrificale*, the mass, 126; *mysteria eucharistiae*, *id.*, 115, 172, 175; *oblationis sacrae*, *id.*, 115.

## N

**Natalis dies**, a festival of a saint, 42, 161 n., 171.

**Naturale bonum**, natural good, not in the sense of material, but of moral good, of which the knowledge has been acquired by the use of the natural reason, in contradistinction to that of which the knowledge has been revealed either personally, through grace, or mediately, through sacred books or oral teaching, 110 n., 173 n. So in *Acta S. Albei*, in *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm.* col. 236, 'quidam vir . . . naturali bono perfectus.'

**Navigare**. See *Remigare*.

**Navis**. The following equivalent terms occur in the present work: *Alnus*, *Barca*, *Caupallus*, *Curuca*, *Cymba*, *Cymbula*, *Lignum*, *Navicella*, *Navicula*, *Navigium*, *Navis*, *Ratis*, *Scapha*. See 160 n.

**Navis vas**, structure of the ship, 132; *sentina*, bilge-water, hence bilge-hole, 133 n.; *carina*, *latera*, *puppis*, *prora*, *pelliceum tectum*, 157; *sub navi*, by and under one side of a boat ashore, 119 n.; *longa*, 159; *oneraria*, 127.

**Nepos**, Irish *ua* or *o*, pl. *ui*, dat pl. *uibh* (*u* in *Mocu*?). *Ui* or *Hy* is rendered *Nepotes*, as in *Neltis Nepotes*, the Hy-Neill. It is

difficult to determine when *Mac* and *Ua* ceased to represent son and grandson, and came to denote descendant.

**Nox festiva**, a vigil or eve, 161 n.; *venerabilis*, the eve of the Lord's Day, 182 n.

**Nutricius**, foster-father (or foster-son?), 146.

**Nutritor**, a fosterer, 166 n.

## O

**Obex**, a linch-pin, 158 n.

**Obsequia**, ritual requirements, 172 n.

**Offensus**, contact, 119 n. This rendering assumes the use of the 2nd decl. for the 4th, as in many cases cited by Rönisch, pp. 260-262. To take it as a participle agreeing with *cultello*, 'being dashed against' (the knee) seems awkward. In that case *dimisso* would be rendered 'being let fall'. Another suggestion is that we ought to have *offensa*, 'being struck,' agreeing with *genicula*. Cf. *offendi*, p. 149.

**Ollamh** (pron. *Ollav*). The highest rank in any learned profession. See p. 18 n. O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 2, 3; *Manners*, &c. iii. 592. No derivation known.

**Onoma** (*humanum*), personal name (*ὄνομα*), 85 n., 172.

**Ordinatio**, clerici, 111; regis, 167; *ordinationis liber vitreus*, *ib.*; *verba*, 168.

## P

**Palmula**, the blade of an oar, 157.

**Papilio**, a pavilion or tent, 91 n. Ex. xxxiii. 8; Num. xvi. 27; 2 Reg. xi. 11, Vulg.

**Paradisus**, a garden, 100 n.; synonymous with *caelum*, 169, 171, 172.

**Parasticia**, vaulting or roof (?), 181 n.

**Parricidalis**, murderous, 100 *n.*  
**Pausare**, to rest, 187 *n.*  
**Per**, over or across, *trans*, 104.  
**Per saltum**, at one leap or step, in the case of ordination to the higher orders without previous ordination to those below, 52.  
**Pincerna**, the cellarer, 102 *n.*  
**Piscina fluminalis**, a fish-pool in a river, 185 *n.*  
**Platea**, the monastic enclosure, 121 *n.*; *plateola*, *id.*, 169 *n.*  
**Plumatiuncula**, a feather pillow, 101 *n.*  
**Polairi**, pl. of *polaire*, a leather case to protect a reliquary or a precious book, 44. Also, a writing-tablet, Lat. *pugillaris* (Stokes, *Trip.* 655). See *Tiaga*.  
**Prædicabilis**, famous, 87 *n.*, and frequently.  
**Præpositura**, presidency, 118.  
**Præpositus**, a head of a subordinate monastic house, 108 *n.*\*, 111 *n.*, 115, 136. It often corresponds with the later *prior*, and is sometimes written *propositus*, whence *provost*.  
**Præsul**, abbot, 85, 86, 98, 187. See *Ducange*, s. v.  
**Prætersorium**, a stray or trespassing animal (?), 114.  
**Primaria insula**, Iona, 90 *n.*  
**Primarius**, a religious superior, 102, 111; a chief military officer, 110.  
**Primule**, in the first instance, 102 *n.*  
**Proclivum**, decline or decadence, 168 *n.*  
**Proselytus**, προσήλυτος, a stranger, 86 *n.*, and frequently.  
**Protus**, πρῶτος, first, 126 *n.*  
**Provincia**, in limited sense, 141 *n.*  
**Puer**, a youth, 141 *n.*; an attendant, 141 *n.*, 144.  
**Pulsare**, to nudge, 110 *n.*  
**Pyra**, πυρά, fervour, 108 *n.*  
**Pyramis**, a canopy (?), 95 *n.*

## Q

**Quartodecimans**. See 40 *n.*

## R

**Ratabusta**, a coffin or tomb, 186 *n.*  
**Rath**, a residence surrounded by an earthen rampart = the rampart itself. An Irish word, 33.  
**Refutare**, to bid begone, 153 *n.*  
**Reliquiae**, the 'remains' of the dead, 185. Hence the Irish *Reilig*, a burial-place. *Martyres*, Irish *Martra*, was the technical term for a saint's relics; hence *Kilnamartry* in Cork and *Merthyr* in Wales.  
**Remigare**, to row, 185 *n.* In the Life of St. Brendan in *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm.*, the equivalent term is *navigare*, as in § 6, 'habebantque prosperum ventum, nichilque eis opus fuit navigare, nisi tantum vela tenere,' and in § 46, 'dum fratres acrius navigare cepissent, ait vir sanctus: Nolite, fratres, super modum navigare vel fatigare vos,' cols. 115, 146.  
**Reverbero**, to dazzle, 177.  
**Robur**, *Roboretum*, *Roboreus*, all express the Irish *Daire*, 'Oak wood,' in place-names, e. g. *Derry*, *Durrow*, *Kildare*.  
**Romana civitas**, the Roman State, 161.  
**Romanum ius**, 107 *n.*; *mos Romanorum*, 160 *n.*  
**Roseta**, the hub of a wheel, *Vita S. Brig.* in 158 *n.*

## S

**Sabbatum**, Saturday, 101 *n.*, 181, 182\*; *sabbatizare*, to rest, 182.  
**Sacerdos**, a presbyter, 104.  
**Sacramentum**, a holy mystery or secret, 117 *n.*, 122, 169\*, 179.  
**Salacia unda**, the ebb, 150 *n.*  
**Sanitas**, healing, 90, 146\*, *Rönsch*, 274.  
**Sapidus**, savoury, 179 *n.*, 186, 187.  
**Sapiens**, a sage, 121 *n.*  
**Scotica**, Irish, 145 *n.*, and *passim*.  
**Sentina navis**, bilge-water, 133 *n.*  
**Sequestratus**, reserved (?), threshed and winnowed (?), 181 *n.*



**Sermusculus** (*sermonusculus* MS. D.), a little remark, 181.  
**Si**, introducing a question, 156 n.  
**Signare**, to observe (?), to sign (?), 146 n.  
**Signum**, a bell, 157 n.  
**Sophia**, σοφία, wisdom, 93 n.  
**Spiramen sanctum**, holy inspiration, divine afflatus, 176. Cf. 4 Esdr. xvi. 63 in Vulg.: 'Et spiramen Dei omnipotentis qui fecit omnia.'  
**Stagnum**, Celtic *loch*, in proper names, 108 n., 110 n.; stagnea aqua, 112 n.  
**Stola**, a robe, 187 n.  
**Sub**, by, in the sense of 'under the side of' (a boat), 119 n.  
**Subitatio**, a sudden or rapid movement, 119, 141, 172, 174, 185.  
**Sudes**, stakes for hurdles, 130 n.  
 In the ancient wattled buildings the stakes were first driven into the ground, and then the withs were woven in and out. Carleton mentions 'a potato-bin, made up of stakes driven into the floor, and wrought with strongwicker-work' (*Traits*, &c., 1860, ii. 224). For 'staking' game, 148; figurative, 170 n.

**T**

**Tabula**, a board of a platform, 106 n.; a writing-tablet, 111 n.  
**Tædialis**, weary, 183 n.  
**Tailcend**, probably 'Adze-head' (*Asciciput*), from *tal*, adze, and *cenn*, head, 37 n.  
**Terdeni**, thirty, 179.  
**Tiaga**, pl. of *tiag*, a leather bag or satchel for the ordinary carriage of books, 44. Lat. *theca*.  
**Tigerna**, a chieftain, 116 n.  
**Titulus**, a monument, 183 n.  
**Transmotatio**, shifting, 89. See **Transmutare**.  
**Transmutare** or **Transmutare**, to shift, 110 n. The reading in Codex A. is *transmotata*; see the last word. *Motare* is used in *De Loc.* SS. iii. 4: 'quodcunque Domino consecratur nullo modo

redimi possit aut motari; nam si quis motaverit, et quod motatum est, et pro quo motatum, sanctificabitur Domino.' Cf. Gen. i. 21, Vulg., 'omnem animam viventem et motabilem.' The confusion of 'o' and 'u' is common in Irish MSS.  
**Trinales**, three, 120, 176, 187.  
**'Trinalium lignorum'**, *De Loc.* SS. iii. 3.  
**Trisulcus**, trifid. See 180 n.  
**Tuguriolum**, St. Columba's cell, 106 n., 111, 135, 173, 179. The form in Cod. A., as in *De Loc.* SS. i. 2, and *Conf. S. Patr.* in *Bk. of Armagh*, Gwynn, 45 b, is *tegoriolum*.  
**Tunica**, the inner garment, 159.

## U

**Uter lactarius**, a milk-bag, 150 n.

## V

**Vadum**, the Irish *Ath*, ford, in proper names, 128 n.  
**Vallum monasterii**, the rath or cashel, 95 n., 143 n. See **Maceria**.  
**Venilia unda**, the flood tide, 150 n.  
**Vespertinalis missa**, vespers, 183 n.; **vespertinales laudes**, *id.*, 113 n.  
**Viaticum**, provision for a journey; hence, the Holy Eucharist given to the dying, 49. See **Ducange**, s. v. The same idea is suggested by the antiphons, 'Placebo Domino in regione vivorum,' and 'Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo, viam meam,' in the Offices of the Dead. From the latter antiphon comes our word *Dirige*.  
**Vita comite**, while life lasts, 128 n., 147.  
**Vitreus**, made of glass, 146; ornamented with glass (?), 167 n.; like glass, 139 n.

**X**

**Xenium**, ξένιον, a ceremonial present, 116 n., 121.

## SCRIPTURE TEXTS

Gen. i. 21 (243); xviii. 10, 14 (212);  
xxxiii. 11 (212); xxxviii. 18, 22  
(233).

Ex. iii. 5 (237); xxxiii. 8 (241).

Lev. xxvi. 19, 20 (222).

Num. xvi. 27 (241).

Deut. xvii. 6 (194); xix. 15 (224).

Josh. i. 5, 18 (193); xxiii. 14 (232).

1 Sam. xxv. 27 (212).

2 Sam. (2 Reg. Vulg.) xi. 11 (241).

1 Kings (3 Reg. Vulg.) ii. 2 (232);  
vii. 30 (240).

2 Kings iv. 16 (212); x. 5 (225).

Job i. 21 (28); xxxi. 22 (205).

Ps. xxxiv. 10, 11 (233); xlv (206);  
l. 19 (203); lxii. 3 (206); xci. 5  
(228); cxlvii. 3 (199).

Prov. xv. 13 (232); xxii. 1 (190).

Is. xi. 6 (200); xlix. 23 (249).

Jer. iii. 22; viii. 11 (199); xxxi.  
24 (200).

Dan. vi. 20 (232); ix. 21 (230).

4 Esdr. xvi. 63 (243).

St. Matt. ii. 1 (192); ix. 20 and  
xiv. 36 (196); xii. 10 (220); xviii.  
16 (224); xix. 5 (220); xix. 6  
(220).

St. Mark ix. 22 (214).

St. Luke xxii. 15 (232).

St. John ii. 11 (211).

Acts xviii. 16 (200); xxvi. 16 (217).

Rom. ii. 14, 15 (203); vii. 2 (220).

1 Cor. iv. 20 (189); vi. 17 (194);  
vii. 39 (220).

2 Cor. v. 16 (205); xii. 2 (208);  
xiii. 1 (224).

Eph. vi. 13-17 (228).

1 Thess. v. 18 (28).

1 Tim. iv. 4 (213); v. 4 (227).

2 Tim. iii. 8 (192, 239).

Heb. iv. 9 (232).

Rev. ii. 17 (217); vii. 14 (234);  
xxii. 18, 19 (235).

## ADDENDA, 1920

[For the notes signed 'C. P.' we are indebted to the Rev. Charles Plummer.]

PAGE 19. *Cain Patraic* also, and more commonly, means the dues, &c., claimed by the see of Armagh. C. P.

*Songs of the Bards.* Fosbrooke supposed that the 'Irish Howl' was one survival of the funeral panegyrics of the Bards, and the Trental another, or at least that St. Gregory substituted it for the *Bardicatio*. *British Monachism*, ed. 1817, p. 296 n.

PAGE 24. *Bannauem Taberniae*. Bishop G. F. Browne thinks that the best supported view is that St. Patrick was a native of South Wales, that Bannaventa was the name of his village, and he says that there are at least three places called Banwen in Glamorganshire. *Connection between Churches of Britain and Ireland*, in *Studies in Church History*, S.P.C.K., 1919, p. 98. But I cannot find any 'Banwen' in Bartholomew's *Gazetteer*, 1904.

PAGE 29, note 1. In my first edition (1894) this note continued, after the first sentence, as follows: 'This fact is referred to by Solinus in the third cent. (*Polyhist.* xxii), by Bede in the eighth (*H. E.* i. 1), and by many other writers. The subject is fully discussed, with catenae of quotations from earlier writers, in Messingham, *Florileg. Insulae SS.* (1624) pp. 127-134, and in Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 255. The credit usually assigned to St. Patrick was given by some to Joseph of Arimathaea (Ussher, *Wks.* vi. 300). According to Thompson (*Nat. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 61-68), the following reptiles are now found in Ireland: the common lizard, *Lacerta agilis*, is common in suitable localities; the harmless snake, *Natrix torquata*, has often been introduced, but has no chance against the prejudice of the Irish, or their jealousy for the credit of St. Patrick; the common frog, *Rana temporaria*, was introduced by Dr. Guithers in 1699, by putting frog-spawn from England into a ditch in Trinity College Park, from which the frogs spread into many parts of Ireland, where they are now common. There is a jocular similitude in Swift's "*Considerations about maintaining the Poor*," where he says that "society-marks" (badges of insurance offices on houses) "spread faster and farther than the colony of frogs." (*Wks.* 1880, vol. ii. p. 132; see note.) Giraldus has a chapter on a frog which was exhibited to vast numbers of people near Waterford c. 1179, and terribly alarmed the King of Ossory, who regarded it as a most sure sign of coming calamities.

'Frogs have been seen in the island of Achill in modern times; the natterjack toad, *Bufo calamita*, is said to be indigenous in

Kerry; at least two kinds of water-newt, *Lissotriton punctatus* and *palmipes*, are found in some localities; the blindworm, viper, great crested newt, and common toad, are not yet found in a wild state.'

On Irish soil exported as a remedy against serpents, see *Notes and Queries*, 10th Ser., iii. 328, 394. According to Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, Ireland lacked 'wontes (moles) and othere venemous bestes'. *N.E.D.*, under 'Want', *sb.*

PAGE 29. *Shamrock*. On 'The Shamrock in Literature', see N. Colgan, M.R.I.A., in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th Ser., vi. 211 and 349. His conclusions are that from its first appearance in literature (1570) to nearly 1670, it appears solely as a bread-stuff or food-herb of the Irish, probably only as a famine-food. The shamrock so used was *Trifolium pratense* or *T. repens*, or both, and not later than 1682; it was first used as a badge or emblem in 1681. The *Oxalis acetosella* was never used either as food or as a badge. *T. repens* and *T. minus* are now in nearly equal favour as badges.

PAGE 35. On the Irish Erdamh, see Petrie, *Round Towers*, pp. 437-444. C. P.

PAGE 39. 'the original founders of the monasteries.' Rather, I would say, of the original stewards (*maeir*) appointed as the custodians of these relics; see *Vitae SS. Hib.* I. cxxiv; Skene's *Celt. Scot.* ii. 407-409, 411; O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 40; O'Donovan's *Topographical Poems*, pp. xix, lxxii. The relics came to be regarded as the property of these families, and when the latter sank into poverty the relics came into the market. There is an elaborate monograph on the *Cathach* of St. Columba by Prof. Lawlor, in *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xxxiii, Section C, No. 11 (1916); and one on the *Domnach Airgid* by him and Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong, ib. vol. xxxiv, Section C, No. 7 (1918), p. xlii, note 2. See also *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century*, by Kuno Meyer (1913). C. P.

PAGE 49, note 1. See also R. A. S. Macalister, *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, 1909. C. P.

PAGE 50, note 1. The following verses have been made about the graves of the three saints:

Hic tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,  
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.

*Polychron.* v. 4. 7.

Three Saints one grave fill,  
Patrick, Bridgit, Columkill.

PAGE 54, note 4. For other possible dedications to St. Columba in England, see Arnold, *Church Dedications*, ii. 144 ff.

PAGE 55, note 1. Magnus O'Donnell's *Life of Columba* has been published in Irish with translation by R. Henebry in vols. iii, iv, v, ix, x of the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*; and separately by O'Kalleher. (It is of course quite a late compilation.) C. P.

PAGE 55. 'now Cooladrummon.' I cannot remember where I found this form of the word in 1894, nor have I now the means of

consulting the books which I then used. Mr. Plummer writes as follows :

'*Culdreimne*. The situation of this place is only approximately known (between Drumcliff and Sligo), and there is no *modern* place *name* which can be identified with it. But Cooldrevny correctly represents the *pronunciation* of the Irish word, the *n* being softened to *v*; nor is the meaning of it clear. I cannot find Cooldrummon in the townland index of Ireland. If it exists in the right position it *may* be the site of Culdreimne, but you cannot derive the one *name* from the other; Cooladrummon prob. = Cuil-da-drommann, the angle of the two ridges (pl. of *druim*, a ridge).' C. P.

PAGE 59, l. 3. Accordingly, Adamnan always includes Iona in Britain, while according to Bede's usage it is in 'Scottia', i.e. Ireland, though about sixty miles north. See Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 186.

PAGE 68, add to the text : Some of the narratives in the third book are based on a supposition that holy souls at the approach or at the time of death were liable to conflicts with demons endeavouring to carry them off, and that holy angels in such cases came to their aid, and prevailed, though sometimes after *belligerations* long protracted. During St. Cuthbert's last illness in Farne, he said to Herefrid, 'Never have my enemies, during all the time I have abode in this island, assailed me with so many persecutions as during these five days.' Bede, *Vita S. C.* xxxvii. In the 'St. Cuthbert' window in York Minster, c. 1450, this scene is graphically represented. The saint, mitred and nimbed, in his bed, is assailed by four truculent-looking demons, red, green, white, and brown. No angels are shown. *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, iv. 351.

PAGES 71-2, note. On the transformations of Irish proper names, see *Vitae SS. Hib.* ii. 344-5. C. P.

PAGE 73. *Aldfrith*. A poem attributed to him, describing the delights and blessings of Ireland, was translated from the Irish by Dr. J. O'Donovan, and this English version is given in *Dublin Penny Journal*, i. 94, and in Howorth's *Golden Days*, ii. 151. The original Irish text is in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, ii. 372. The poem gives a charming account of Ireland in the seventh century.

PAGE 73. Irish Life of Adamnan. Now printed in *Anecdota from Irish MSS.* ii. 10 ff. (1908). C. P.

PAGE 74. The Law of Adamnan, *Cain Adamnain*, has been edited by Kuno Meyer, Oxford, 1905. C. P.

PAGE 74. On the change of Easter in Iona, see Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 335; Adamnan induced the Northern Irish to accept it in or soon after 692. Intr., p. lxxiii, Bede, *H. E.*, lib. v, cap. 15.

PAGE 74, note 1. On Tara see Petrie in *Trans. R. I. A.* xviii, where there is a plan showing all the existing remains, with descriptions. There is nothing above ground, but the grass-grown foundations of the great hall, the raths, &c., are distinctly visible.

PAGE 76. *Diminutives*. So in modern Scotch. The Scotsman loves his 'wee drappie', and his favourite poet sings, 'Ye . . . dainty

damies, Wha by Castalia's wimplin' streamies, Lowp, sing, and lave your pretty limbies'. Burns, *To Dr. Blacklock*.

PAGE 78. *ad calcem*. Life of Cainnech, edited separately and presented to the Kilkenny Archaeological Society by the Marquis of Ormonde, 1853. C. P.

PAGE 80. Keating's *History*, new and complete edition, with Translation and Indices by David Comyn and R. S. Dinneen, Irish Texts Society, 4 vols., 1902-14. C. P.

PAGE 80. *Stowe Missal*. Edited, with complete facsimile, by Sir George F. Warner for H. B. S., 2 vols., 1906, 1915. C. P.

PAGE 88. *Binc?* Biuc would give a good sense, dative of Bec, little; Feachna, the short. C. P. But MS. A. apparently has *binc*.

PAGE 193. *belli*. Mr. Plummer points out in his *Bede*, ii. 123, that Devil's Water is not the same as Denisesburn, for a charter cited by Raine mentions 'Ruleystal . . . inter Denisesburn et Diuelis', and he says that in the fork between Rowley Water and Devil's Water is a place called the Steel. The name of Denisesburn is lost, but it is probably to be identified with Rowley Water, or a tributary thereof.

PAGE 193. *Saxonia*. Strictly speaking, only those parts occupied by the Teutonic invading tribes. C. P.

PAGE 194. *Mocumioie*. The derivation given in the note is a popular etymology, erroneous, though widely diffused: really *maccu* (older *moccu*) is a single word meaning 'race'; 'descendants'; applied also to the territory of the tribe. C. P.

PAGE 197. *bellum* . . . *Ondemone*. The annalists call it the battle of Moin Doire Lothair. O'Donovan (*Four Masters*, i. 198, note), alluding to this passage, says, '*Adamnan* calls it the battle of Moin mor.' I do not know what text of Adamnan O'Donovan used. Some verses cited by the *Four Masters*, *ad loc.*, call the place Moin mór Doire Lothair. *Ondemone* is probably a corruption of (bellum) *Mona móre*, battle of the great bog, but its locality has not been fixed. C. P.

PAGE 198. *Aido*. Throughout you may take it for granted that the forms of Irish words and names in the text of Adamnan are old—considerably older than the average Middle-Irish forms—thus:

Aid, *gen.* Aido, old.  
Aed(h), *gen.* Aed(h)o, middle.  
Aodh, *gen.* Aodha, modern.

So Ferguso (p. 191) for *gen.* of Fergus, is older than Fergusa. C. P.

PAGE 206. *maceria*. The reference to fortified farms and their Italian designations may be cancelled as being doubtfully pertinent.

PAGE 209. *Korkureti*. More probably Dal Riadai, *Dal*, the tribal territory, and *Corca*, the tribe, being practically equivalent. Walsh, *Ancient Place-names of Meath*, ii. 11. C. P.

PAGE 211. *Wood and Wattles*. On these materials in England, see Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 101, 102.

PAGE 211. *Nemanidon Mocusogin*. This is a very unintelligible form. I am inclined to think the original reading was Nemani .i.

Mocusogin, and that the scribe mechanically expanded .i. (id est) into its Irish equivalent, *idon*. C. P.

PAGE 213. *Hymnorum liber*. Another MS. in the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. C. P.

PAGE 214. *hininglas*. Add to the note: *ind*, *inn*, *in* = def. article: it can be aspirated. *an* = water, and may be for an older *in*. Stokes, *Thesaurus Palaeo-hibernicus*, ii. 277, suggests that *inglas* = *englas* (or *anglas*), a name given to any thin drink such as milk and water; but as this word is explained to mean 'blue water', it comes to much the same thing. C. P.

PAGE 216. *Snakes*. See Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 10. Note that St. Columba is not credited with driving snakes out of Iona, only with rendering them harmless. If there were any snakes in Iona in his time, they would probably be the naturally harmless snakes, *Coluber natrix*, or the blindworm, *Anguis fragilis*.

PAGE 224. *Plagues*. See Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 194, 196.

PAGE 225. *Nutritor* and *Nutricius*. The former word undoubtedly denotes foster-father, but there is some doubt as to the latter. *Nutricius* is 'foster-father' in classical Latin, and several times in the Vulgate, e. g. 'Et erunt reges nutritii tui', Isa. xlix. 23. But in D'Arnis' *Lexicon* (Migne), *Nutricius* is explained as 'Alumnus; *écolier*, *nourisson*. A. SS.' So that Adamnan, who uses *nutritor*, quoting Cumman, p. 166, certainly meaning foster-father, may, when writing his own words, p. 146, have used *nutricius* in the sense of foster-son.

PAGE 226. *flagello*. Eddius relates how the queen of King Oswin, after her ill-treatment of St. Wilfrid, was 'nocte arrepta a daemone, sicut uxor Pilati, multis flagellis fatigata'. *Vita S. Wilfr.*, cap. 39. Fosbrooke states that 'two Jesuits clad as Angels applied the discipline to Mr. Henry Fairfax one night at St. Omer's in the seventeenth century'. *Brit. Monachism*, II. Perhaps some of the earlier flagellations may have been well-intentioned frauds of this description.

PAGE 232. The incident of the horse weeping at his master's death is found in Irish secular tradition. Cuchullin's horse, the Liath Macha, did the like. Cf. *Book of Leinster*, Preface, p. 29; *Rev. Celt.* iii. 182-3. C. P.

PAGE 236. *S.S.* These letters may stand for *Sanctissimi*.

PAGE 236. *the Librarian . . . at Schaffhausen*. Again I have to thank this gentleman, who has most kindly replied to repeated inquiries about readings in MS. A., enclosing facsimiles of words in question.

# INDEX

In this index references marked by an asterisk, thus, 51\*, mean that the word or subject occurs more than once in the page indicated. The initials S. C. stand for St. Columba, and St. Cuthbert, S. P. for St. Patrick. A reference to a note often includes the same to the text.

Aba, river, 108, 203.  
 Abba, father, 3 *n.*  
 Abbot, his status, 36.  
 Aberdeen Breviary, 8, 23 *n.*, 72, 78, 194.  
 Absolution, 108; deferred, 68.  
 Abyssinian library, 44.  
 Academy, Royal Irish, 8, 38*n.*, 56*n.*, 80.  
 'Accepta licentia', the formula, 197.  
 Ached-bou, 133, 214.  
 Achill island, 245.  
 Acta SS. Bollandiana, 6, 29 *n.*, 71 *n.*, 78\*, 79, 85 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 114 *n.*, 122 *n.*, 153 *n.*, 171 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 177 *n.*, 188 *n.*, 189, 211, 214, 216, 228, 229, 234; Onomast., 212.  
 Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm., 8, 31*n.*, 46 *n.*, 57, 77, 196, 208, 214, 225, 241, 242.  
 Acta SS. Hib.: *see* Vitae SS. Colgan, Plummer, Surius,  
 Acta SS. Ord. Ben., 78\*, 236.  
 Adam, 149, 194.  
 Adamnan, abbot, 71; borrowed ideas, 189; changed some convictions, 73; death of, 13, 74; dedications to, 76; dim. of Adam, 194; friendship with Aldfrith, 224\*; going out for timber, &c., 72; his one allusion to S. P., 23 *n.*; how he obtained information, 193; Irish life of, 73; later teaching of, 74, 75, 76; law of exempting women, 215; his Latin style, 72, 76, 77 *n.*; lineage of, 71, 83; might have known many who knew S. C., 184, 233; name of,

71, 194; persuaded Northern Irish to change of Easter, 247; his place in history, 75; received oral traditions, 87, 92, 95, 96, 113, 114, 117, 121, 129, 131, 167, 177, 184, 185\*; shrines of, 75 *n.*; sojourns in Ireland, 74; soul-friend of King Finnachta, 72; succeeded as abbot, 70; his summary as to S. C., 66; supposed early life of, 72; visited Aldfrith, 224; visited Northumbrian Court, 73; works ascribed to, 76; Life of S. C., 5, 78, 80, 83 *n.*; descriptions of it, 75; when written, 73; where written, 194; origin and character of the work, 85; MSS. of, 6; printed edd. of, 6, 7; De Locis Sanctis, 42 *n.*, 73, 75, 76, 78, 85 *n.*, 189, 191, 195, 199, 215, 225, 234, 235, 239, 240, 243\*.  
 Adder-stone, 16 *n.*  
 Adjectival forms, 77.  
 Advocates' Library, 8\*.  
 Adzehead, 20\*, 37 *n.*  
 Aedh, son of Ainmire, king, 18, 53, 64, 83, 197, 198, 227; son of Brendan, 54; Dubh, 205.  
 Aedhan, 64\*, 226; 'ordination' of, as king, 197.  
 Aengus de matribus SS. Hib., 199: *see* Oingusius.  
 Aesculapius, 225.  
 Aethelred, charters of, 189.  
 Aethicus, 235.  
 Aged heathen, 110.  
 Aghaboe, 65, 214, 227.  
 Agonotheta, 227.  
 Agriculture, 44.



- Aidan, king, 98\*; sons of, 98; ordained king, 163, 167; St., 62, 70 *n.*, 202; arrival at Lindisfarne, 13; bp. of Ferns, 214.
- Aidanus, fil. Fergnoi, 88, 106; fil. Gabrani, 120, 197; fil. Libir, 169.
- Aido (Aedho), genitive of Aedh, 191, 198, 248.
- Aidus Commanus, 198; Draigiche, 88, 101, 199; fil. Ainmurech, 120; fil. Colcen, 89; Niger, 111, 112, 205; rex, 99, 197; Slane, 100, 198\*, 199.
- Ailbine, river, 128, 211.
- Ailcey hill, 222.
- Ailenus, 116.
- Ainmire, king, 53, 64, 83, 98, 197, 210.
- Ainmoriur : *see* Ainmire.
- Ainmuireg, 168.
- Airchartdan, 173, 229.
- Airghialla, 207.
- Airtheara, 207.
- Airthrago insula, 160, 223.
- Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol, 129, 215.
- Aithche, 134, 214.
- Alba (Scotland), 60, 64\*, 203.
- Alban, St., 196.
- Albati, 229.
- Albei, S., Acta, 241.
- Albinus : *see* Alcuin.
- Alcluith, 199.
- Alcuin, 49, 72, 226, 235.
- Alcuini Opp., 49 *n.*
- Alder wood, 216.
- Aldfrith, king, 73, 162, 224\*, 247.
- Alexandria, 33.
- Alexandrian Church, 40, 41.
- Alfonsus, Petrus, 199.
- Alfred, king, appearing of St. Cuthbert to, 193; tr. of Baeda, 78, 197.
- Alitherus abbas, 95, 195.
- 'All-heal', 16.
- Alnus, a boat, 142, 216.
- Alpes Peninae, 187, 235.
- Alphabetical hymn, 27.
- Alps, 69; Pennine, 187, 235.
- Altus Prosator, 65, 67 *n.*, 78, 194\*, 214, 238.
- Alumni, 93; of S. C., 176, 178.
- Alumnus, foster-son, 231.
- Alypius the grammarian, 217.
- Amalaricus, De Off. Eccl., 78, 208.
- Ambis *for* ambabus, 215.
- Ambrose, St., Hexaem., 237.
- Ambrosian hymn, 234; rite, 31 *n.*
- Amen, 20.
- Amhalthaidh, 83.
- Amhra Columcille, 18, 64\*, 194, 203.
- Ammonite, 63 *n.*
- Amphibalus, a cloak, 95, 130, 195.
- Amphibalus, St., 196.
- Analecta Bollandiana, 22 *n.*, 23 *n.*, 38 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 78, 79, 81, 82, 208, 214.
- Ananias, 124, 141.
- Anchorites, 33, 185.
- Ancient Laws of Ireland, 78, 225; Liturgies, 81.
- Anderson, Dr., Scotland, &c., 34 *n.*, 39 *n.*, 44, 56 *n.*, 78, 237.
- Anecdota from Irish MSS., 247.
- Angel, Book of, 231.
- Angelic visions, 163-80; visitations, 187.
- Angels, coming to meet departing soul of S. C., 164, 179; seen at a conference with S. C., 164, 174; seen in company with S. C., 163\*, 164, 166, 167, 174; vision of, 65.
- Angels' hill : *see* Colliculus; songs, 233.
- Angles of Northumbria, 62.
- Anglesey, invasion of, 16.
- Anglican Communion, 68.
- Anguinum (ovum), 16, 63 *n.*
- Anguis fragilis, 249.
- Angus, Sculptured Monuments of, 206.
- Anmchara, soul-friend, 42, 64, 65, 72.
- Anna, prioress, 59.
- Annals, MS., 74 *n.* : *see* Tighernach; Ulster, 38 *n.*, 53, 66 *n.*, 78, 190, 192, 215, 224, 239.
- Anrot, 18 *n.*
- Anscombe, Alfred, Obit of S. C., 50 *n.*
- Anselm, abp., 41.
- Antiores, 117, 169, 207, 227.
- Anthony, St., 72, 79; bell of, 39.
- Antiochus, consul, 21 *n.*
- Antiphonary of Bangor, 6, 49 *n.*, 78, 189, 213.
- Antrim Co., 24, 192, 209.
- Apicius, 238.
- Aporicum, Stagnum, 149.

- Aporum Stagnum, 137.  
 Apples made sweet, 123, 127.  
 Aquatilis bestia, 216.  
 Aralanensis, 29.  
 Aran, antiquities of, 45 *n.*, 46 *n.* ; farewell to, 67 ; School of, 45, 48.  
 Archaeologia, 44 *n.*, 78, 189, 222.  
 Architecture, first Christian, resembled pagan, 34.  
 Arculfus, 78.  
 Ard Ceannachte, 128, 212.  
 Ard na Muir chon, 198.  
 Ardnamurchan, 69, 198, 215.  
 Argyle, 198\* ; abbot in, 194.  
 Argyleshire, 204, 223.  
 Argyll, Duke of, on Iona, 60 *nn.*, 68 *n.*, 75, 78, 231.  
 Arimathæa, Joseph of, 245.  
 Arles, 29 *n.*, 229 ; Council of, 208.  
 Armagh, 26, 29, 30, 35 ; abbots of, 227 ; burning of, 239 ; Book of, ed. Gwynn, *passim* ; dues to see of, 245 ; and Down, contention between, 27.  
 Armenia, 211.  
 Armour, spiritual, 228.  
 Armstrong, E. C. R., 246.  
 Arnold, Church Dedications, 246.  
 Arnold, Tho., 82.  
 Arochdan, 229.  
 Arran, 223.  
 Art, burial of, 206.  
 Artbrananus, 89, 110, 217.  
 Artchain, 65, 111, 205, 228.  
 Arttaib Muirchol, 132.  
 Artdamuirchol, 100, 198.  
 Arturius, 98, 99.  
 Ascensio Brenaind, 225.  
 Asciput, 37 *n.*  
 Ashburnham Place Library, 80.  
 Assandun, battle of, 193.  
 Ath Cliath, 'hurdle ford', the ancient name of Dublin, 212.  
 Athlone, 195.  
 Attraction of letter 't', 72 *n.*  
 Aubin, St., 72.  
 Auctarium in Symeon, 200.  
 Audible service, 206.  
 Augustine, St., 201 ; Ep. ad Casulanum, 201 ; De Civitate Dei, 218.  
 Aulus Gellius, 216.  
 Austin canonesses, 220.  
 Auxerre, 25, 217.  
 Avoyne, 205.  
 Awe, Loch, 203.  
 Axles, 221.  
 Baedae Opp., 81 ; cura Smith, 78\*, 79 ; Hist. Plummer, 78 ; Hist. Stevenson, 79 ; Hist. Abb. Uirem., 201 ; Hist. Eccl., 54 *n.*, 58 *n.*, 66 *n.*, 74, 191\*, 193\*, 195, 199, 201, 202, 203, 209, 212, 218\*, 224, 226\*, 235\*, 237, 245, 247 ; H. E., Alfred's transl. of, 197 ; Vita S. Cuthb., 38 *n.*, 40, 66 *n.*, 73, 79, 193, 197, 212, 228, 229, 230, 234, 247 ; see Bede and Plummer.  
 Baedan, king, 83.  
 Baertius, 85 *n.*  
 Baile Atha Cliath, 212.  
 Baitanus, 88, 103, 104 ; fil. maic Erc, 99, 200 ; nepos Niath Taloiric, 88, 103, 200.  
 Baithanus, 140.  
 Baithene, St., 69, 70, 71, 83, 93, 94, 95, 105, 108, 112, 113, 115, 170, 200, 205, 217, 226, 231 ; abbot, 69 ; alumnus of S. C., 93 ; festival of, 161 ; head of penitential house, 203 ; to finish MS. of Psalter, 183 ; with S. C. at his death, 66.  
 Baitheneus fil. Beognoi, 123, 134, 135.  
 Baker, 171.  
 Ballycastle, 196.  
 Bandea, a river, 218.  
 Bangor (co. Down), School of, 47, 48, 49 *n.*\*, 65, 71, 209 ; see Antiphonary.  
 Bangors, four, 49 *n.*  
 Bann, river, 201, 210\*.  
 Bannatyne Club, 7.  
 Bannaum Taberniae, 24, 245 ; Bannaventa, Banwen, *ib.*  
 Banshee, 230.  
 Baptism of converts, 41, 145, 173 ; of infants, 41, 131 ; of old man, 41, 110.  
 Barbarous island, 14, 21 ; languages, 189.  
 Barbour, Brus, 207.  
 Bard, derivation of word, 17 *n.*

- Bardicatio, 245.  
 Bards, 14, 15\*; account of, 17;  
   Christian, 15, 18\*, 19; Irish, 116,  
   207; in Irish Church, 207; S. C.  
   probably one, 67; latest survivals  
   of, 19; office of, hereditary, 18;  
   proposed abolition of, 18; pro-  
   tection of, 64; retainers of, 18 n.;  
   songs of, 245; unpopularity of, 18.  
 Baring-Gould, Lives of SS., 8.  
 Barn-church, 26, 27.  
 Baronius, 72.  
 Bartholomew's Gazetteer, 245.  
 Basil of Seleucia, 217.  
 Basnage, ed. of *Canisii Thesaurus*, 7.  
 Bassus, consul, 21 n.  
 Baster, *Opuscula*, 220.  
 Bed, dying in, unusual, 198.  
 Bede, 50, 72, 75, 77, 245; death of,  
   66; miracles recorded by, 68;  
   regarded Celtic tongues as bar-  
   barous, 189; silence of as to S. P.  
   and St. Boniface, 23; when a  
   child, 224: *see* *Baedae Opp.*  
 Bedford, Tho., 82.  
 'Beehive' cells, 33, 34, 35, 46,  
   61, 200, 234.  
 Beleth, Div. Off., 223.  
 Belfast Lough, 49 n., 229.  
 Belfries, 20.  
 Belgium, 29 n.  
 Bell, as a parting gift, 49; for mid-  
   night office, 183; for prayer, 157,  
   172.  
 Bells, 197, 217, 228; ecclesiastical,  
   38, 39 n.  
 Bell-shrines, 38, 39 n.  
 Bell-towers, 35.  
 'Beloved disciple', 48.  
 Benchor, 209.  
 Benedict, St., Rule of, 67.  
 Benedictio, bread, &c, blessed, 212.  
 Benediction before journeys, &c., 95,  
   99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 109.  
 Benen, 19.  
 Benignus (or Benen), 30.  
 Beogna, 196.  
 Berachus, 102.  
 Berachus, St., 234.  
 Berchan, 231\*.  
 Berchanus Mesloen, 178, 231.  
 Berct, sent to ravage Ireland, 224\*.  
 Bernicia, 193.  
 Bevers, 217.  
 Bibera (cup), 217.  
 Bile, king of the Picts, 73.  
 Bilge-hole, 133, 213.  
 Bilge-water, 133, 213, 241, 242.  
 Binc or Biuc?, 88, 248.  
 Bingham, Orig. Eccl., 211.  
 Bior, river, 53.  
 Birr, 225\*.  
 Birra, gen. of Bior or Bir, 171, 225.  
 Bishop, every town had its own,  
   32 n.; necessary, 205, 208; who  
   concealed his rank, 117.  
 Bishops, essential, 15; preponderance  
   of, 32 n.; subject to Abbots and  
   Abbesses, 36; subordination of,  
   15, 30, 36, 52.  
 Blacklock, Dr., 248.  
 Blacksmith, pious, 170.  
 Blackwater, river in Meath, 215.  
 Bleeding at the nose cured, 124, 136.  
 Blessing a chariot, 221.  
 Blód-wite, 219.  
 Bo, Boo, or Bos: *see* Boyle.  
 Boar, wild, struck dead, 124, 141.  
 Boar hounds, 142.  
 Boats, &c., names for, 222.  
 Bobbio, 229.  
 Bodily cure sought, 106.  
 Boend fluvius: *see* Boyne.  
 Boisil, death of, 66.  
 Bollandists: *see* *Acta SS. Boll.*  
 Bona, *Rerum Lit. lib. I.*, 230.  
 Boniface, 4, 190.  
 Boniface, St., 23, 232.  
 Book, of the Angel, 231; of Com-  
   mon Prayer, 213; of Kilkenny,  
   79, 80; of Trin. Coll., Dublin,  
   44 n., 236; submerged, 88, 105;  
   that fell into water, 201.  
 Book leaf, incorruptible, 212.  
 Books, and their shrines, 39; im-  
   mersed and uninjured, 130, 131;  
   resisting water and fire, 213; sunk  
   in water to cure cattle, 213; used  
   in churches and for study, 43.  
 Bothies, 52, 53.  
 Boyle, river, 116, 124, 137, 207.  
 Boyne, river, 52, 130, 213, 233.  
 Bradshaw: *see* Henry.  
 Braid, valley of, 24.  
 Brambach, *Hilfsbüchlein*, 7, 78.  
 Branduib fil. Meilgí, 226.  
 Bread, blessed, 212.  
 Breacan's Cauldron, 196.

- Breccus, 'speckled' or 'freckled', 198.  
 Brehon, derivation of word, 19 *n.*  
 Brehon Law Office, 19 *n.*; laws, 36; laws revised, 26\*.  
 Brehons, 15\*, 18; account of, 19; went on as Christians, 19.  
 Brenainns, two, 52.  
 Brenann, 83.  
 Brendan, father of Aedh, 54; St., 74 *n.*, 221, 242; of Birr, St., 56, 63, 163\*, 166, 171, 201, 225; mass on his day, 171; soul carried by angels, 171; vision of, 166; of Clonfert, 'the Navigator', 45, 47, 65, 202, 225.  
 Brenden filii, 226.  
 Brendenus, 122.  
 Brendenus Mocualti, 106, 175, 202.  
 Bresail, 226.  
 Bretwalda, 193.  
 Breviaries, 28.  
 Bridget, St., 30, 42, 50 *n.*, 221, 246; Life of, 242; Translation of, 24 *n.*  
 Bridget, St., of Sweden, 30 *n.*  
 Brigidae Acta, 79.  
 Brigittine nuns, 30 *n.*  
 Brigg in Lincolnshire, 222.  
 Bright, E. E. Ch. Hist., 227.  
 Britain and Ireland (Scotia) compared, 13; distinguished, 154, 220; called the Roman island, 14; North, 24; languages of, 203.  
 Britannia, 179.  
 Britanniae, 22, 24, 191.  
 Britanniae *sive* Britannicum Dorsum, 144, 156, 161, 173, 204, 224.  
 British Channel, 203, 217; Church, 20; colony in Spain, 235; Museum, 6\*; North, traditions, 47; stranger, 190.  
 Brito, 86, 163, 168, 227.  
 Britons, 31\*; founders of second Order of SS., 31.  
 Broichan, a Druid, 63\*, 125, 145, 146, 147, 225; foster-father (or foster-son?) of King Brude, 146, 225; his sickness and recovery, 146.  
 Broichanus magus, 217.  
 Broken thigh cured, 129, 212.  
 Bronbachal, 100, 198.  
 Bronze, coating iron with, 144, 217.  
 Bronze basin, 120.  
 Browne, abp., 29; bp. G.F., 245.  
 Brude, king of the Picts, 57, 62\*, 62 *n.*, 64, 65, 90, 156, 192, 203, 206; conversion of, 62, 63, 218; his fortified place, 113, 146, 148; honours S.C., 148; took fright at Vespers, 114.  
 Bruide, son of Bile, friend of Adamnan, 72.  
 Brussels, Burgundian Library, 78; Royal Library, 79; MS. at, 23.  
 Brussels Life of St. Cainnech, 196.  
 Buchanan, 202.  
 Buckingham, 78.  
 Buddhist ideas, 33.  
 Bufo calamita, 245.  
 Buildings, early, 33, 34.  
 Buite, St., 50.  
 Burial of the dead, 42, 142, 152, 153, 154; of S.C., 186.  
 Burial-grounds, 34.  
 Burns quoted, 248.  
 Burntisland, 81.  
 Bury, Prof. J.B., Life of St. Patrick, 10, 13 *n.*, 21, 24 *n.*, 25, 28 *nn.*, 78.  
 Bush, river, 210.  
 Busta, Bustum, 234.  
 Butler, Alban, Lives of SS., 8, 71 *n.*  
 Caballus, 232.  
 Cadwalla, king (Catlon), 91\*, 92, 193\*.  
 Caelestine I, pope, 23 *n.*, 25, 26; sent Palladius to Ireland, 21.  
 Caelestine legend, 23 *n.*, 25.  
 Caelestius, 21.  
 Caesar, De Bello Civili, 221; De Bello Gallico, 15, 16 *n.*  
 Cailraighe, tribe, 228.  
 Cailtanus, 88, 108, 203.  
 Cain, 105.  
 Cain Adamnain, Adamnan's law, 215, 247.  
 Cain Patraic, 19, 245.  
 Cainle, 206; mons, 135; regio, 114.  
 Cainnech, Caindech, or Canice, St., 52 *n.*, 53, 62, 65, 88, 96, 97, 123\*, 133, 134, 196\*, 202, 214\*, 217; Life of, 78, 248; staff of, 68.  
 Cainnechus Mocu Dalon, 175.  
 Cairn burial, 204.  
 Cairns erected, 110, 240.  
 Cairnaan, 226.

- Cairnech, 19.  
 Caius, fragment of, 226.  
 Calcutta, 8.  
 Caledonian Canal, 217.  
 Caledonians, 197.  
 Calendar, rectification of, 40 *n.*; of  
     Oengus : *see* Stokes, Whitley.  
 Calgach, oak-wood of, 194.  
 Cally, in Perthshire, 217.  
 Calpurnius, 24.  
 Cambas, Camas, Camus, 121, 210.  
 Cambrensis Eversus, 29 *n.*, 42, 51 *n.*,  
     79.  
 Campagna (Italy), 206, 248.  
 Campulus Bovis, 133.  
 Campus Albus, synod of, 194 ;  
     Breg, 114, 154, 206 ; Eilni, 121,  
     210 ; Lunge, 65, 108, 115, 134,  
     152, 154, 170, 203, 228.  
 Camusnangel, 215.  
 Cana of Galilee, 126.  
 Canaba, 237.  
 Candida Casa, 47.  
 Canice, St. : *see* Cainnech.  
 Canisii, Lect. Antiq., 230 ; Thesau-  
     rus, 79.  
 Canisius, text of, 6\*, 7.  
 Cannechi, S., Vita, 208.  
 Canny, 209.  
 Canon of the Mass, 229.  
 Canon law (Roman), 36.  
 Canonical Hours, 37, 38.  
 Canticum Scotticum (Lorica S. P.),  
     81.  
 Cantyre (Caput Regionis), 107,  
     202.  
 Capgrave, 8.  
 Capitula, from Cod. B., 210, 225.  
 Captive delivered, 146.  
 Captives returned, 224.  
 Captivity, danger of, 218.  
 Caput Regionis, 107, 202.  
 Car without lynch-pins, 125, 158.  
 Carautius, 204.  
 Carbury, 198.  
 Cardinal points, 207, 223.  
 Caredig, *or* Ceretic, 22.  
 Carleton, Traits, &c., 17 *n.*; 29 *n.*,  
     79, 237, 243.  
 Carlisle, 197 ; couplet at, 230.  
 Carnarvonshire, 49 *n.*  
 Carn-lamha, 205.  
 Carpenter's son, 48.  
 Carthage, fourth Council of, 208.  
 Cashel, the place, 206.  
 Cashels (stone walls), 33, 34, 61,  
     195, 206, 217.  
 Cassian, John, 33 *n.*  
 Castalia's streams, 248.  
 Casulanum, Ep. ad, 202.  
 Cathach (Battle-book), 39, 66 *n.*,  
     246.  
 Cathaeir Mor, king, 83 *n.*  
 Catlon rex (Cadwalla), 91, 92, 193.  
 Cattle blessed, 124, 137, 138.  
 Caupallus, a boat, 216.  
 Caxton, Golden Legend, 197.  
 Ceatt, Cet, *or* Keth, 198.  
 Cei Stagnum, 136.  
 Celebrate, invitation to, 208.  
 Celebration (canonical hours), 31 *n.*  
 Celebration (mass) by bishop alone,  
     118, 208.  
 Cella Magna Deathrib, 31, 210.  
 Cellois, 117, 207.  
 Celtic Christianity, 62 ; Easter, 70 ;  
     eccl. art, 62 ; legends, 216, 227 ;  
     monasteries, construction in, and  
     plan of, 33, 210 ; monasteries,  
     resembled those of Egypt and  
     Syria, 34 ; Society, 79 ; tongues,  
     189 ; tonsure, 20 *n.*, 37 *n.*  
 Celts, Christianized, 75.  
 Cenannus (Kells), 54.  
 Cenel Cairbre, 198.  
 Cenfaeladh, 198.  
 Ceolfred, 72, 224.  
 Cethirn, 209.  
 Chairs, three, in heaven, 69.  
 Chalmers, Caledonia, 222 ; Monu-  
     ments of Angus, 206.  
 Chariots, 98, 158, 206, 214, 221.  
 Charlemagne, 49.  
 Charms, 42.  
 Charybdis Breani, 97, 196.  
 Chasuble (secular), 37.  
 Childbirth, help in, 155.  
 Chorepiscopi, 32 *n.*  
 Christian Fathers, silence about  
     Druids in, 17.  
 Christian Year, 222.  
 Christianity, Anglo-Saxon, 13 ; Early  
     British, 13\* ; of N. of England, 62.  
 Christians, pre-Patrician, 20.  
 Christmas, 41.  
 Chronicon Hyense, 61 *n.* ; Scotorum,  
     35 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 79, 80, 215.  
 Church of England, 68 *n.*

- Church Services, 37.  
 Churches, consecration of, 20.  
 Cian, Cianachta, 212.  
 Ciaran, St., of Clonmacnoise, 45, 48, 52 *n.*, 53, 69, 95, 195; lands of, 73; relics of, 49: *see* Kiaran.  
 Ciborium, 195.  
 Cicero, In Pisonem, 192.  
 Cill-Cleithe, 'hurdle church', 211.  
 Cinel Conaill, 51.  
 Cisalpine Gaul, 161.  
 Cladh an Diseart, 67 *n.*  
 Clan Neill, 55.  
 Clan system, 14, 15.  
 Clansmen followed leaders, 14 *n.*, 27.  
 Clay used in building, 35 *n.*  
 Clement XII, pope, 71 *n.*  
 Clementine Liturgy, 211.  
 Clerical habit, 111, 219.  
 Clew Bay, 225.  
 Clocca, 183, 197.  
 Clochur filiorum Daimeni, 129, 212.  
 Cloc-teach *or* Campanile, 230.  
 Clogher, 211, 212.  
 Clonard, 65, 193, 195, 202, 218; School of, 46, 48, 52, 53.  
 Clonfert, School of, 47.  
 Cloni Finchoil, 184, 233.  
 Clonmacnoise, 65, 95, 195\*, 202, 225, 227; Great Cross at, 48, 49, 213; inscriptions at, 49 *n.*, 246; pilgrims to, 49; School of, 48.  
 Clonoense coenobium, 95.  
 Cloud, pestilential, 128.  
 Cluainboirenn, 212.  
 Cluain-Eraird, 193.  
 Clyde, firth of, 62.  
 Cnoc Angel: *see* Colliculus; Mor, 202; Orain, 230.  
 Coble (caupallus), 142.  
 Cobthach, 226.  
 Codex, Bruxellensis, 79; Marshianus *vel* Marshii *vel* 'Kilkenniensis', 6, 79, 80, 201, 202, 214, 225, 233.  
 Coemgen (Kevin).  
 Coenobites, origin of, 33.  
 Coenobitic life, 14.  
 Cohesion of words in MSS., 190.  
 Coire Salchain, 118, 209.  
 Colchu, a teacher, 49.  
 Colcius, 111; *vel* Colgius, fil. Aido Daigniche, 88, 101, 102, 199\*; *or* Colgius, son of Cellach, 204.  
 Cold, exposure to, 230.  
 Coldingham, 230.  
 Coleraine, 201, 210\*; battle of, 65.  
 Colgan, John, 67, 77, 85 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 122 *n.*, 153 *n.*, 171 *nn.*, 172 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 177 *n.*; 180 *n.*, 189\*, 211, 216\*, 228, 229; Acta SS., 17 *n.*, 70, 71 *n.*, 79, 195, 199, 200, 208, 211, 214, 218, 225, 227, 231, 233, 234; Offices of St. Patrick recorded by, 23 *n.*; Trias Thaumaturga, 6, 7\*, 8, 20 *n.*, 29\*, 30, 46 *n.*, 48, 51 *n.*, 55, 58 *n.*, 66, 67, 68 *n.*, 79, 82\*, 194, 195\*, 201, 202, 205, 218, 220, 221\*, 227, 228, 231, 232, 234, 238, 245; Vita Secunda, 7, 232\*.  
 Colgan, N., on the Shamrock, 246.  
 Colgion, Cellaig, Irish genitives, 204.  
 Colgion fil. Cellaig, diocesis, 111.  
 Colgius fil. Aido Daigniche, 177.  
 Colgu fil. Cellachi, 130, 173.  
 Coll island, 203.  
 Collation of MSS., 201.  
 Colliculus Angelorum, 159, 175, 222, 230\*.  
 Colman, 83, 99; abbot, 49; St., 88, 97.  
 Colman Canis fil. Aileni, 89, 116, 207.  
 Colmanellus, 196.  
 Colmanus Mocu Loigse, 229; episcopus, Mocusailni, 97, 196.  
 Colmonell, 196.  
 Colombs, two, 52 *n.*  
 Colonsay, Colosus insula, 60, 115, 139, 206.  
 Colophons, 235, 236.  
 Coluber natrix, 249.  
 'Colum' in Irish names, 190.  
 Colum (dove), variants of name, 51 *n.*; Gobha, 228; mac Crimthain, 218.  
 Columb Crag, 93, 194.  
 Columba, a common name, 43; sometimes a woman's name, 190.  
 — St., acquired Irish, British, Gaulish, and Roman traditions, 47, 52; angel appears to his mother, 163, 165; to himself in the church, 181; angelic visions, 163-80; appears in a vision to king Oswald, 91; arrival in Scotland,

13; ascetic practices of, 67, 68 *n.*, 87; attendants, 229; birth and childhood, 50; blesses Iona, the barn, &c., 180, 181; the monastery, 182; blesses xenia, 207; blessing as he died, 184; burial of, 66 *n.*, 186, 246; burial and enshrinement of, 235; his Cathach, 39, 56 *n.*, 246; his cell, 201\*, 204; chair in heaven for, 69; closing scenes of his life, 66, 180-8; his coming to Iona, 60; compared to St. Paul, 208; his confessor and penance, 56; at convention of Drumceatt, 64 *n.*; date of his death, 232; death revealed in Ireland, 184; dedications to, 62, 76, 246; discourse for his day, 8; drove demons into sea, 228; dying prostrate before the altar, 184; education of, 51; emaciation of, 68 *n.*; energy, 87; eve of, 223; eve and festival of, 161; excommunicated, 56, 166; family friends of, 209, 210; his farewell blessing on Iona, 143; figure of, 6; first in for midnight office, 184; his first monasteries, 53; folklore of his birth, 50 *n.*; followed example of St. Paul, 117; fully recognized three orders, 208; gift of prophecy, 92; grievances of, 55; handsome features, &c., 67; handwriting of (?), 39; the hem of his garment, 95, 123; 'house' of, 54; hymn attributed to, 60; instructed by an angel, 167; intended pilgrimages, 54; invoked, 223; Irish names of, 190; his Irish origin, 13; in Iona, 68; in Ireland, 50; Kells granted to, 198; his last days and death, 180-6; his later monasteries, 54; Latin and Irish poems of, 67; leaves Ireland (Scotia) for Britain, 87; light at his birth, 163, 166; lineage of, 83; his loud voice, 113, 142, 205; had leave to settle in Iona, 197; Lives of, 7, 8, 9, 63; MSS. in his writing, 159, 160; many prophecies of, not recorded, 122; his miracles, 90-3, 123-162; his missions, 5, 50; his monastery at Iona, 5; his mother,

165; *see* Eithne; names of 12 disciples of, 226; ordained deacon, 51; ordained priest, 52, 53; out of sight of Ireland, 61; parentage, mission, and character, 87; patron of Iona, 85, 86, 162, 164, 181, 186, 187; his penance, 60; perhaps a Bard, 18, 67; personal characteristics, 87; personal recollections of him, 70; pillow-stone of, 67 *n.*, 233; poems, Irish, in praise of, 92; pointed out grave of St. Patrick, 27; prophecies of, 87-122, 190, 191; prophecy concerning King Aidan, 168; prophecies of his birth, 30\*; prophetic gifts, 92, 122; reasons for leaving Ireland, 191; reception at Clonmacnoise, 95; recorded events of his life, 63; reflections on his death, 187; religious opinions, 67; returns to Ulster, 53; royal lineage, 51; 'Rule' of, 67; a scholar, 45\*; belonged to second Order, 32; his 'second sight', 92, 97, 98, 100, 107, 116, 117, 133, 140, 153, 155, 157, 169, 170, 172, 173, 219; his ship's stores, 150; shrine and relics of, 75 *n.*, 76; shrine of, and its migrations, 235; significance of name, 85; soul met by angels, 179; soul-friend to Aedhan, 64; to many, 65; successors of, 69; summary of miracles, 90; supposed autobiography of, 56 *n.*; supposed reasons for leaving Ireland, 55, 60; taken in a wagon to visit the workmen, 143, 180; transcribes a Psalter, 66, 183; Translation, feast of, 23 *n.*; twelve followers of, 58, 208; used a chariot, 206; vipers made harmless by, 143, 180, 249; visited by Angel at mass, 181; visited Clonmacnoise, 49, 95; visits a dying man, 168; washing feet, 66; withstood by two bishops, 61; works the pumps, 133; writings of, 67; *see* Columcille.

Columba, St., of Tir-da-glas, 46 *n.*  
Columbae Acta, in Colgan, T.T., 79.

Columba's, St., 'House', 54.  
Columb's, St., Wells, 54.

- Columban mission, 61; monasteries, 64, 226\*; monks expelled, 76; usages, 37.
- Columbans, Irish, 74.
- Columbanus, 100, 190\*; mission of, 58; Penitential of, 202; fil. Beognai, 97, 123, 134, 135, 196, 214; *or* Colman Mor, 198; fil. Echudi, 158; Muculoigse, bishop, 163, 229\*; soul carried by angels, 172; Nepos Briuni, 135; a peasant, 124, 137, 138.
- Columbus Coilriginus, a blacksmith, 163, 170, 228; fil. Aidi, 122.
- Columcille, explanation of name, 51; Gospel of (Kells, Book of), 35 *n.*; Great and Smaller Gospels of, 55; lands of, 73; popular name of S. C., 50 *n.*, 51.
- Column of fire, 185; of light on head of S. C., 164, 175.
- Comarb *or* Co-arb, 15.
- Combat, mortal, 116.
- Comets, lights like, on heads of saints, 230, 231.
- Comgall, St., 49 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 53, 62, 120, 163, 172, 175, 209\*, 210; founder of Bangor and friend of S. C., 50 *n.*, 65\*; abbas: *see* Mocu Aridi.
- Comgill, Conallus fil., 98.
- Commanus, 177.
- Compline not mentioned, 38.
- Comyn, David, 248.
- Conall Cernach, 229; Mac Comghail, king or lord of British Dalriads, 57 *n.*, 58, 64, 98, 197; Gulban, 51, 83; son of Suibhne, 198, 199.
- Conallus, episcopus, 121, 210; fil. Comgill, 98; fil. Domnaill, 140.
- Concelebration, 38, 208.
- Conceptions, miraculous, 50 *n.*
- Condictum, synod, converse, 174, 209, 223.
- Confession, 41; and penance, 151; coram omnibus, 108, 206; how practised, 203; public, 68, 115; of S. P., 81, 243.
- Conflicts of angels with demons, 163, 169\*, 171, 172, 247.
- Conin, 226.
- Conjugal duties upheld by S. C., 155.
- Connachtarum regio, 151.
- Connaught, 26; and Ulster boundary, 55; apostle of, 30; derivation, 195; men of, 219; West, 81.
- Consecration of bishops, 41; of kings, 227.
- Consecration Prayer, 213.
- Consonants weakened and lost, 71 *n.*
- Constantinople, 21.
- Constantius, 218.
- Contulus, punt-pole (?), 216.
- Cooke, Rev. E. A., on St. Columba, 9.
- Cooldrevny (*now* Cooladrummon?), 246, 247; battle of, 55, 58, 87, 97, 191, 197.
- Coracle, portable, 204.
- Coracles *or* Currachs, 61, 157, 160\*, 221, 222.
- Corb Aulam, 225.
- Corca Raidhe, 209, 248.
- Core, 19.
- Cork, county, 242.
- Corkaree, 209.
- Cormac, 65; abbot, &c., 88, 97; Nepos Lethani, 125, 156, 157, 158, 175, 196.
- Corman, 70 *n.*
- Corn, rapid growth of, 127.
- Cornwall, early Christianity in, 13.
- Coroticus, Epistle on, 22, 23, 26, 27, 79, 81.
- Corpreus, St., 227.
- Corry, in Morvern, 209.
- Corryvreckan, 196.
- Cothraige, 24.
- Cotton MSS., 86 *n.*, 204.
- Cottonian Library, 6.
- Courcy, John de, 190.
- Cow-house *or* pasture, 232.
- Cows, 135, 137, 138.
- Craig Phadrick, 62 *n.*, 218.
- Craignure, 240.
- Crane, arrival and kind treatment of, 119; tame, 231.
- Cranes, 209.
- Craticula lignea, 104 *n.*
- Creatura, 213.
- Creeran, Loch, 209.
- Cremorne, 207.
- Cretan legends, 216.
- Crimthann (fox), 51.
- Cristilia, 209.
- Croagh Patrick, 29.



- Crogreth, Stagnum, 118, 209.  
 Cronan, a bishop, 117; the poet, 89, 116.  
 Cronanus, 208; fil. Baithani, 140.  
 Crosiers, 20\*, 41, 233.  
 Cross, base for, 208, 232; set in mill-stone, 182; sign of, 42, 214, 223.  
 Crosses, memorial, 208; places named from, 209; sculptured, 62, 67 *n.*: see Crux.  
 Crow staked, 150.  
 Cruithnechanus, presb., fosterer of S. C., 51\*, 166, 225.  
 Cruithnii, 98, 197\*, 203, 209\*, 225.  
 Cruithini, 121.  
 Cruthinicus gente, 111.  
 Crux Adamnani, 223.  
 Cuchullin's horse, 249.  
 Cuilfedha, battle of, 65.  
 Cuimine Ailbhe or Cummin (1), abbot of Iona, 71, 72, 83, 222, 227; Life of St. Columba, 7, 66, 68, 71, 79; anachronism, 58; passages from, 91 and *passim*; referred to, 191, 222, 226\*, 227, 229\*, 230\*, 233, 234, 235, 240, 249.  
 Cuirtri, 71, 83.  
 Cul ri Erin, 60, 61.  
 Culdees' Cell, 61 *n.*, 227.  
 Culedrebina, Culdreimhne: see Cool-drevny.  
 Culerathin, 121, 210.  
 Culmen ecclesiae, 232.  
 Cumdach, 66 *n.*  
 Cummin (1): see Cuimine.  
 Cummin (2), abbot of Durrow (?), his letter to Seghine, 23, 70, 71; his Penitential, 201.  
 Cures of diseases, 130.    ✓  
 Curran, 55.  
 Currachs: see Coracles.  
 Curzon, Monast. of the Levant, 44 *n.*  
 Cusack, M. F., Tripartite, 22 *n.*, 29 *n.*, 79, 82.  
 Cuthbert, St., 40, 66, 193, 212, 225, 227, 228, 234; anonymous Life of, 73, 79, 193; apparition of, 193; his guest-house, 219; Life by Bede, see Baedae Vita S. C.; light at his birth, 225; Lives of, 79; Metr. Life of, reff. on p. 269; praying in the sea, 230\*; vexed by demons, 247; vision of, 197.  
 Cuthbert, abbot of Jarrow, 66.  
 Cuuleilne, 112, 205.  
 Cyanaea capillata, 220.  
 Cycles, chronological, 40, 41.  
 D'Achery, Spicilegium, 79, 202, 205.  
 Dagaues, St., 234.  
 Daimenus, 129.  
 Dair Magh ('Oak Plain'), 54, 95, 195.  
 Daire Calgaich, 53, 153, 194; Col-uimcille, 194.  
 Dairi, 19.  
 Daisy Hill, 64.  
 Dal, tribal territory, 248.  
 Dal-Araidhe, 65, 197, 205, 209.  
 Dallan Forghaill, 18, 64.  
 Dalriada, 64, 83; British, 57 *n.*, 58; Scottish, 197.  
 Dalriadan colonists, 61; colony, 57; kings, 227; settlement, 224.  
 Dalriads, 64, 65, 248.  
 Dam Inis, 60.  
 Damhliag, 61.  
 Dari's law, 74 *n.*  
 D'Arnis, Lexicon, 249.  
 David, bishop, 31; St., 46, 50, 214.  
 David, tomb of, 195.  
 Deacon, 126.  
 Dearmach (Dair Magh), 54.  
 Death, diverse expressions for, 235; raising from, 144.  
 Deaths of evil men, 124\*, 138.  
 Decapitation, 114.  
 Decian persecution, 33.  
 Decurio, 22, 24.  
 Dee, river, 49 *n.*  
 Deer staked, 149.  
 Deira, 193.  
 Delcros, 128, 211.  
 Delvin, river, 211.  
 Demon in milk-pail, 123, 135.  
 Demoniacal agencies permitted that they may be brought to nought, 135, 136, 147.  
 Demons at deathbed, 247.  
 Dempster, Tho., Menol. Scot., 79, 218.  
 Denisesburn, 193\*, 248.  
 Deprecatio, 229.  
 Derby, 9.  
 Dermitus rex, 100.  
 Derricke, Image of Ireland, 19 *n.*, 79, 196.

- Derry, 16 *n.*, 54, 64, 69, 194\*, 211, 219, 242; church in, 53 *n.*; founded, 53; St. Columba's praise of, 53; county, 198, 215.  
 Desert in the sea, 88, 97, 103, 156, 196.  
 Deunan, 72 *n.*  
 Deus in adiutorium, 69.  
 Devenish, 56.  
 Devil's Water, 193, 248.  
 Devilston, 193.  
 Dialis, use of term, 194, 211.  
 Diarmaid, king's son, 48.  
 Diarmait, king, 54, 55, 56, 57, 198.  
 Dicta Patritii, 28.  
 Dict., Chr. Ant., 235; Chr. Biog., 9, 25 *n.*, 29 *n.*, 48, 69 *n.*, 70 *nn.*, 82; English Dialect, 16 *n.*; of Hymnology, 20 *n.*, 67 *n.*; Nat. Biog., 9, 19 *n.*; New English (Murray and others), 81, 246.  
 Dictionaries, 79.  
 Digby, Kenelm, 22 *n.*  
 Dilston, 193.  
 Diminutives, 76 *n.*, 189, 190, 194, 209, 215, 247; -an and -og, 72 *n.*  
 Dinneen, R. S., 248.  
 Diocesan episcopacy, 229.  
 Dioceses in Ireland not episcopal, but monastic, 204.  
 Diocletian's persecution, 33.  
 Diodorus, Hist., 17 *n.*  
 Dioecesis, province (?), 111.  
 Diormit (1), attendant on S. C., 66, 68 *n.*, 69\*, 98, 100, 104, 106, 107, 110, 143, 144, 171, 181\*, 184\*, 197, 226, 233; sick, 124, 144.  
 Diormit (2), an Irishman, 169.  
 Diormit (3), tenax vir, 122.  
 Diormitius fil. Cerbulis, 111.  
 Dirge, 243.  
 Discipline, monastic, 36.  
 Discretionary power, 202.  
 Diseases healed, 130.  
 Disert, 67 *n.*  
 Diuni cella, 108, 203.  
 Dives tenax, 122, 124, 137.  
 Dobur Artbranani, 110, 204.  
 Docus, 31.  
 Dog (house dog), 149.  
 Dogs, Celtic, 24 *n.*  
 Dolatae, 222.  
 Döllinger, Dr., 190.  
 Domelch, 63.  
 Domhangart, 83 *n.*  
 Domhnach Airgid, 39, 239, 246.  
 Domhnall (Domnallus fil. Aidi), king, 83, 98, 99, 121, 197, 198, 210.  
 Domingartus, 98, 99.  
 Dominica nox, eve of Sunday, 182.  
 Domnail Brecco, 168.  
 Domnill, nepos Ainmureg, 168.  
 Donaghpatrick, 26.  
 Donegal, 29, 71; light seen in, 185.  
 Donnan, St., 231.  
 Dorbhene, scribe and abbot, 6, 236; his adjuration, 188.  
 Dorsum Britanniae, 110, 123; Cete (Drumceatt, *q.v.*), 99, 120, 123, 130, 198; Tomme, 185, 234.  
 Down, county, 47, 192, 193, 211, 227.  
 Downpatrick, 27, 50 *n.*, 66 *n.*, 246.  
 Doxology ('saeculorum'), 217, 235.  
 Dress, 36.  
 Driving, 221.  
 Drought, great, 159, 221.  
 Druid, conflicts with, 125, 146, 147; derivations of word, 16 *n.*; term applied to Christ, 56 *n.*  
 Druids, 14, 15, 37, 48, 192, 207; accounts of, 16; authority of, partly passed to abbots and bishops, 20; catena of reff. to, 17 *n.*; confounded, 132; could not become Christians, 19; in disguise, 61; their objects of worship, 17; their occupations, 17; opposition of, 62, 63, 145; survivals of their influence, 17; took fright at Vespers, 114; warnings by, 20, 26.  
 Drum-Alban, 204.  
 Drumceatt, convention at, 18, 64 *n.*, 130, 197, 198, 221; cures at, 123, 130: *see* Dorsum Cete.  
 Drumcliff, 247.  
 Duach, 71, 83.  
 Dubhduibseach (bell of S. C.), 228.  
 Dubhthach, 19.  
 Dublin, 19 *n.*, 29, 49 *n.*, 53, 200; ancient and modern names of, 212; Irish Arch. and Celtic Soc., 80, 81; Franciscan Convent, 249; Roy. Ir. Acad., 18 *n.*, 25 *n.*, 27 *n.*, 38 *n.*, 42 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 80, 81\*, 246; Primate Marsh's Library, 79;

- Penny Journal, 247; Trin. Coll., Book of, 44 *n.*, 213; Trin. Coll., Library of, 22, 37 *n.*, 80, 213, 239; Trin. Coll., MS. at, 78; Park, 245.
- Dublin, county, 211, 220.
- Ducange, Glossarium, 78, 79, 195\*, 196, 202, 208, 210, 214\*, 216, 217, 219, 221, 223, 232, 243.
- Dug-out boat (alnus), 142, 159, 222.
- Duibh-linn, 'black pool,' 212.
- Duirthech, 61.
- Dumbarton, 24 *n.*, 199.
- Dun Breatan, 199; Ceithirn, 209, 210; -I, *or* Dunii, 59, 61 *n.*, 202.
- Dunbhuirg, 61 *n.*, 211.
- Dunblesque, 215.
- Duncane, Mr., 200.
- Dunraven, Lord, Irish Architecture, 34 *n.*, 46 *n.*, 79.
- Dunum, Downpatrick, 246.
- Duorum Ager Rivorum, 125, 148, 218.
- Durham, besieged, 200; Bp. Cosin's Library, 82; bishopric of, 216; monk of, 193; relic of St. Amphibalus at, 196; relics of St. Columba at, 66 *n.*
- Durham, county, 209.
- Durrow, 16 *n.*, 65, 70, 107, 195, 198, 201, 202, 220, 228, 242; Book of, 35, 37 *n.*, 43, 44 *n.*, 54, 55, 235; building at, 69; cross at, 54; founded, 54: *see* Roborei Campus.
- Duum, *for* duorum, 218.
- Duum Rus Rivulorum, 148.
- Eadgar, charters of, 189.
- Ealdfrith, 73.
- Eanach, 194.
- Eanfrid, king, 193.
- East Oriel *or* Uriel, 207.
- Easter, 31\*, 180, 232; Communion at, 152; controversy concerning, 40, 70, 71\*, 73\*; controversy, slight allusion to, 73, 96; disagreement about, 196; Irish, 194; Roman, 75, 223.
- Easter Eve, 202.
- Easters, various, 32.
- Ecclesiastical law, 111.
- Ecfridi bellum, 162.
- Ecgrith, king, 73, 197; ravaged Ireland, 224; slain by Picts, 224.
- Echodius Buide, 98, 99; fil. Dom-nail, 99; Find, 98, 99; Laib, 98, 197.
- Echoid, 226.
- Ecolmkill (Iona), 59 *n.*
- Eddius, Vita S. Wilfridi, 66 *n.*, 79, 209, 212, 231, 233, 249.
- Edwin, king, 193.
- Eecholuim-cille (Iona), 59 *n.*
- Eel-nets, 218.
- Egea insula, 176, 231.
- Egypt, loan-word from, 195; monasticism in, 33\*.
- Eig *or* Egg isle, 231.
- Eilean na Naomb, 61, 200, 214, 234, 237.
- Eire, Erin, Eriu, 191.
- 'Eireland', 191.
- Eirros Domno, 97, 197.
- Eithne *or* Ethnea, mother of S. C., 83, 87, 165, 208.
- Elements, eucharistic, 211; the four, 211.
- Elena (insula), 64, 136, 214, 215, 234.
- Elias propheta, 145.
- Eliseus propheta, 145.
- Elizabeth, queen, 19.
- Ellacombe, Church Bells of Devon, 39 *n.*
- Elmham, Hist. Mon. S. Aug., 226.
- Elrington, ed. of Ussher, 82.
- Elton, Origins of English History, 16 *n.*, 30, 79, 220.
- Elveshou, 222.
- Ember Weeks, 202.
- Emchath, soul of, met by angels, 164, 173\*.
- Employments, monastic, 42.
- Enagh, 194.
- Enanus fil. Gruth, 89, 114, 192.
- Enda, St., 45, 47, 48, 200.
- Endeus, 226.
- England, diocesan and parochial system in, 14; early Christianity in, 13; plagues in, 224; reptiles in, 29 *n.*
- English law, 19; pale, 19.
- Enna, St., 225.
- Enna Boghaine, 83.
- Eochaidh, 83 *n.*
- Eochodius Buidhe, 227.
- Ephesus, Council of, 21.
- Epidemic, 212.

- Episcopacy essential, 36.  
 Episcopal rite, 208.  
 Erca, 83\*, 197.  
 Ercus, a poacher, 89, 115.  
 Erdamh (side-house), 35, 35 *n.*, 231, 239, 246.  
 Erin and Alba, pacification between, 64.  
 Ernaan *or* Ernanus, presbyter, avunculus S. C., 118, 208, 226.  
 Ernan, 83.  
 Ernanus fil. Glasderci, 101.  
 Erne, Lough, 56.  
 Ernene, 234.  
 Ernene Mocuifirroide, second sight by, 185.  
 Erneus fil. Craseni, 88, 95, 96, 196.  
 Erraid isle, 206, 223.  
 Erris, in Mayo, 197.  
 Eructavit cor meum, 63.  
 Esox, pike *or* salmon, 136, 215, 218.  
 Etchen, bp., legendary story of, 52.  
 Ethica insula, 64, 102, 151, 200\*; terra, 111, 135, 170, 203: *see* Tiree.  
 Ethicum pelagus, 103, 200.  
 Ethiopic satchel, 44.  
 Ethnea: *see* Eithne.  
 Eucharist, celebration of, 37; terms for, 38.  
 Eulogia, gift, 212; holy bread, 212\*; holy bread, taken in refectory, 214.  
 Eunán, same as Adamnan, 71 *n.*  
 Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., 226, 235.  
 Evangelistic symbols, 43\*.  
 Evangelus, 206.  
 Eve, a daughter of, 155.  
 Evening mass (Vespers), 183.  
 Excommunication, 31.  
 Exedra: *see* Erdamh.  
 Exequiae, 42.  
 Exequies, three days of, 186.  
 Expliciunt, 210.  
 Fabulator, 215.  
 Fachtni, Gallanus fil., 111.  
 Faction-fights, monastic, 57.  
 Faelan, 83.  
 Faggots, shipload of, 127.  
 Failbhe, abbot, 71, 72, 83, 92, 96, 194.  
 Fair Head, 196.  
 Fairfax, Mr. H., 249.  
 Fairy hills, 216, 222.  
 Fall from a height, 173.  
 Famen, 225, 229.  
 Farewell to Aran, 67; to the brethren, 183.  
 Farne Island, 219, 247.  
 Farney, 207.  
 Faroe Isles, 220.  
 Fast dispensed with for guest, 106.  
 Fast-days, 41.  
 Fasting, 68.  
 Fast relaxed, 36, 106; Wed. and Fr., 201.  
 Father, aged, to be supported, 152.  
 Feabhal *or* Foyle, river, 53, 219, 234.  
 Feather bed, 101.  
 Fechno (Feachna), 226, 248.  
 Fechnus Binc, 88; sapiens, 108.  
 Fechreg nepotes, 177.  
 Fechureg, 101, 199.  
 Fedhlim (Fedilmithus), 83, 87.  
 Fedhlimidh, 51.  
 Feller, abbe, 22 *n.*  
 Fenda fluvius, 185, 234.  
 Fentenus fil. Aido, 124, 144.  
 Feradach, 69, 83, 124, 139.  
 Ferdomnach, 78, 235.  
 Fergna Brit, abbot, 70, 83 *n.*. *see* Virgnous.  
 Fergnous, 184.  
 Fergus, 19, 87.  
 Fergus Cennfada, 83, 87; Mor, 83 *n.*  
 Ferguso, 87, 191, 248.  
 Ferguson, Lady, Life of Bp. Reeves by, 9, 21 *n.*  
 Fergusson, Hist. Archit., 34 *n.*  
 Feria, meanings of, 199.  
 Ferns, bp. of, 214.  
 Ferreolus, 185, 234.  
 Ferrum (weapon), 217.  
 Fiacc, St., Hymn of, 24, 25, 230.  
 Fiachna, 83.  
 Fields, work in, 195.  
 Filial obligations, 219.  
 Filius Nautis, 87.  
 Fina, 73.  
 Finanus, an anchorite, 121.  
 Finbarr, Findbarr, Finnio, *or* Finnian, of Moville, bp., 45, 47, 50, 51, 55, 58, 193, 211, 226.  
 Finchale, 81.  
 Findbar, bp., 90, 126, 193, 211.  
 Findchanus, plebeius, 127; presbyter, 111\*.

- Findluganus, 140, 215.  
 Findmaige, 213.  
 Finlagan, St., 215.  
 Finn, river, 185, 234.  
 Finnachta, king, 73\*; the Festive, 72\*.  
 Finns (Finnians), two, 52 n.  
 Finnian, 225; St., 163, 167; St., lands of, 73; St., of Clonard, 46, 47\*, 50, 52\*, 53 n., 193, 202, 226.  
 Fintennus, 226.  
 Finnianus, 226.  
 Finnio, St., vision of, 167, 226.  
 Finnloga, 215.  
 Fintan, St., 88, 194, 195\*; visits Iona, 93, 95.  
 Fintan, St., of Dunblesque, 215.  
 Fintennus fil. Aido, sick, 144.  
 Fionn *or* Albus, 71.  
 Fir Club moss, 16 n.  
 Fir Li, tribe, 201.  
 Firbolgs, 197.  
 Fire, in the kitchen, 201.  
 First to die after S. C. came to Iona, 169.  
 Fish, a great, 124, 136.  
 Fishes, draughts of, 124, 136.  
 Fishing in river, vision while, 185.  
 Fish-pools, 185, 234.  
 Flambard, Ralph, bp., 227.  
 Fland, king, 49.  
 Flann, Fina mac Ossa, 73.  
 Flava pestis, 224.  
 Fleming, Collectanea Sacra, 201.  
 Flintshire, 49 n.  
 Florida benedictio, 215.  
 Flounders, 60 n.  
 Fluminales piscinae, 234.  
 Foirtgirrus, 135.  
 Folklore, 50 n.; pagan, 63 n.  
 Forbes, Bishop A. P., 7, 75, 80.  
 Forcus, 98, 197.  
 Fordun, 72.  
 Forth, firth of, 62.  
 Fortunate Isles, 45.  
 Fosbrooke, British Monachism, 245, 249.  
 Fosterage, 51, 63, 69, 73, 101, 146, 225; literary, 231.  
 Founder's kin, 15.  
 Four Masters, Annals, 79, 81, 194, 206, 224\*, 226, 248.  
 Four years added to the thirty years of S. C. in Iona, 179.  
 Fowler, J. T., edd. of Adamnan by, 7, 10; translation by, 8.  
 Foyle *or* Feabhal, river, 53, 219, 234.  
 Fraction, Eucharistic, 208.  
 Fractured hip, 123, 129, 212.  
 Fragrance from tombs, 205.  
 France, southern, bps. in, 32 n.  
 Franciscans, 80\*.  
 Franks, 31; pagan laws of, 19 n.  
 Freckled king, 198.  
 Freeman, E. A., Life and Letters, 36 n.; Norman Conquest, 80.  
 Freising MS., 6.  
 Fridian, bp., 48.  
 Frigidianus, bp., 48.  
 Frogs, 220, 245.  
 Frowde, Henry, 8.  
 Frozen seas, 220.  
 Funeral feast, 207.  
 Gabhran, 197.  
 Gabrani, Aidanus fil., 120; genus, 138.  
 Gaedhil, 203.  
 Galgacus, 194.  
 Galian, 229.  
 Gall, St., Library of, 6.  
 Gallanus fil. Fachtni, 89, 111, 204\*.  
 Gallican Church, 195; Liturgies, 81, 229; rite, 31 n.  
 Gallicia, 235.  
 Galloway, 47.  
 Galway Bay, 45.  
 Gardener, 102.  
 Gartan, 50.  
 Gartnaidh, king, 63.  
 Garveloch isles, 214.  
 Gates open of their own accord, 125\*, 148.  
 Gaul, 22, 41; alleged sojourn of S. P. in, 24 n.; bards in, 17; Cisalpine, 161; Cisalpine and Transalpine, 187; Druids of, 15, 16; early monachism in, 33; Greek in, 42 n.; intercourse with, 202; western, 24.  
 Gaulish sailors, 107.  
 Gemmanus, instructor of S. C., 51, 141, 216.  
 Genealogical Table, 83.  
 Genereus, Saxo, 171.  
 Gennesaret, Lake of, 218.  
 Gens Loerni, 223.  
 Geona cohors, 110, 203.  
 Gergenna, 214.

- Germans, mission to, 58.  
 Germanus, St., 25\*, 147, 217; finger of, 218; Life of, *ib.*  
 Geyer, Adamnanus, 77 *n.*  
 Giant's Sconce, 210.  
 Gildas, St., 31; 'Corslet' of, 194; De excidio, 221.  
 Gillas, 31.  
 Gintech, 83.  
 Giraldus Cambrensis, Topog. Hib., 39 *n.*, 44 *n.*, 77, 79, 80, 195, 209, 221, 245.  
 Girdle, as a token, 53; of a captive, 152.  
 Glamorganshire, 245.  
 Glas Naoidhen (Glasnevin), 53.  
 Glasdercus, 101, 199.  
 Glass drinking-cup, 146.  
 Glastonbury, early Christianity in, 13.  
 Glen More, 240; More nan Albin, 62; Urquhart, 229.  
 Glencolumbille, 228.  
 Glendalough, 48, 54.  
 Glossae Saxonicae, 214.  
 Godric, St., 80, 81, 230.  
 Gold, use of, in MSS., 44.  
 Gonon, Benedict, 8.  
 Good woman, her soul taken to heaven, 171.  
 Goose, boiled, 234.  
 Goreus fil. Aidani, 119, 209.  
 Gospel, at Mass, 175; read outside church (?), 230.  
 Gospels, MS. of, 39; of St. Patrick, 239.  
 Gowry, 209.  
 Graecisms, 239.  
 Grampian Hills, 204.  
 Granary, 182.  
 Gratianus Lucius, 79.  
 Grazacham, 28.  
 Greco-Latin, 77.  
 Greek, 42\*, 72, 77 *n.*; Easter, 40 *n.*; letters used, 189, 190; loan-words, 189; vowels confused, 190.  
 Gregory, the Great, 189; Trental of, 245; the Thirteenth, 40 *n.*; of Tours, 211.  
 Grill, 200.  
 Grillaan, 226.  
 Guaire, 209.  
 Guest-house, 35, 151; of monastery, body of S. C. taken into, 186.  
 Guest-room of a house, 149.  
 Guithers, Dr., 245.  
 Gunna isle, 203.  
 Gwynn: *see* Armagh, Book of.  
 'Hac in nocte', 228\*.  
 Hackness, 197.  
 Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, &c., 20, 20 *n.*, 22 *n.*, 24 *n.*, 27 *nn.*, 28 *n.*, 67, 80, 226, 235.  
 Haduuald, 229.  
 Hand rotting, 205.  
 Hand-bells, 33, 39.  
 Hardiman, 81; Irish Minstrelsy, 247; note by, 219.  
 Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue, 7, 8.  
 Hare Island, 48.  
 Harris, Walter, 82.  
 Harvesting monks, 112.  
 Hatfield, Yks., 193.  
 Hauritorium, 199.  
 Headings of chapters, 191.  
 Healy, Dr., Insula SS., 9, 24 *n.*, 27\*, 28 *n.*, 31, 46 *n.*, 48, 49 *n.*, 67 *n.*, 69 *n.*, 80, 232.  
 Hebraism, 232.  
 Hebrew, 42, 72; term in, for 'East', 207; for a 'present', 212.  
 Hebrides, 207, 238.  
 Hector Boethius, 70 *n.*  
 Heliodorus, 206.  
 Hem of garment of S. C., 95, 123, 130.  
 Henebry, R., 246.  
 Hennessy, W. M., 78, 79, 82; translations by, 8\*.  
 Henry Bradshaw Soc., 6, 38 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 60, 65 *n.*, 67 *n.*, 68 *n.*, 78, 80\*, 89, 213, 214, 248.  
 Heptarchy, 75.  
 Hercules, 216.  
 Hereditary succession, 15 *n.*  
 Herefrid, 247.  
 Hermathena, 236.  
 Hermitages, 65, 185; in the sea, 88, 97, 103, 156, 196.  
 Hermits, 32, 33; their cells, 67 *n.*  
 Heteromala, 196.  
 Heylin, Hist. of Sabbath, 199.  
 Hezekias, alter, 231.  
 Hi, Irish for *in*, 225, 240.  
 Hibernia, 90, 93, 95, 100\*, 102; older forms of name, 192.  
 Hiberno-Latin, 77.

- Hildmer, 212.  
 Hill, little, overlooking the monastery, 182.  
 Hinba Island, 47, 64, 65, 104, 118, 140, 163, 167, 175, 176, 185, 200, 215, 234.  
 Hininglas, 133, 213, 249.  
 Historians of Scotland, 7, 80.  
 Hogan, Onom. Goedel., 215.  
 Hole, Tour in Ireland, 200.  
 Holland, 220.  
 Holy bread, 128.  
 Holy Ghost, descent of, on S. C., 164, 176.  
 Holy water, 49, 128, 129, 130, 136.  
 Homer, 240.  
 Homily, 230.  
 Honoratus, St., 25\*.  
 Horse, his farewell to S. C., 182, 232; weeping, 66, 249.  
 Horse-flesh eaten, 88, 104; grilled in a wood, 104.  
 Hospitality, 36.  
 Hospitium, 219.  
 Howorth, Golden Days, 247.  
 Hübner, Insc. Chr., 204.  
 Hugo de St. Victor, 208.  
 Hull, museum at, 222.  
 Hurdle, construction, 127, 212; ford, 128.  
 Huyshe, Wentworth, 8, 80, 206, 233.  
 Hy, (1) Iona, 190, 194; (2) prefix, now O', 194.  
 Hy-Neill, northern, 57, 65, 83, 197, 209; southern, 83 n., 198.  
 Hymns A. and M., 28 n., 80, 213, 234.  
 Hymn-book in writing of S. C., 131.  
 Hymnorum liber, 213, 249.  
 Hyth, regio, 200.  
 I, the letter, 88, 105, 201.  
 Iarannan, 234.  
 Iceland, 220.  
 Icolmkil (Iona), 59 n.  
 Ictian Sea, 203.  
 Idon (id est), 249.  
 Idulorum cultura, 17.  
 Ilea insula, 139, 215.  
 Illuminations, 43, 44.  
 Incest, sin of, 104.  
 Indairthir, 169, 227.  
 Indulgence for visitor, 200.  
 Infant baptism on the road, 131.  
 Inis Ainghin, 48.  
 Injunction to secrecy, 181.  
 Inkhorns, 43, 201; one upset, 88, 106.  
 Innes, Civil and Eccl. Hist., 201.  
 Innocent VIII, 216.  
 Innocentes, 141, 215.  
 In te Christe, 67.  
 Intercession, special, 98, 104.  
 Interpreters, 110, 144, 145, 217\*.  
 Inverness, 62, 216.  
 Invocation of S. C., 160, 161; of Saints, 68 n.  
 Invulnerable cowl, 140.  
 Iogenanus, brother of King Aidan, 167; presbyter, 131.  
 Iona, 47, 200\*, 202\*; agriculture in, 59; Aldfrith educated at, 73; Austin canonesses in, 220; Benedictine foundations at, 76; blessed by S. C., 143; burial of a king at, 73; change of Easter in, 247; churches near, 64; Columban church first planted in, 61; coming of St. Columba to, 50; constitution, &c., of, 45 n.; dates connected with, 76; decline of, 54; description of, 58; donation of, to S. C., 58, 218; earthworks in, 60; favourite burial-place of kings, 232; festival at, 63; fish-supply at, 60 n.; forms of name, 194; freed from deadly serpents, 124, 143; future fame of, 182; a good centre for missions, 58; granted or confirmed to S. C., 50, 62; guest-house, 219; head of a federation (dioecesis), 238; household of, 45; included in Britain, also in Ireland, 247; Irish settlers in, 62; a late form of the name, 210; Life of S. C. written in, not in Ireland, 192; local features alluded to by Adamnan, 60; the Machar in, 59, 205, 216, 222, 229\*, 231; mediaeval ruins in, 60; monastery thrice rebuilt, 76; no trace of S. C.'s monastery at, 35; the name, 189, 210; a new centre, 13; nunnery church, 59 n.; ports of, 214; present ruins at, 76; primacy of, 192, 220; ravaged by Danes, 76; St. Mary's Ch. in,

- 67 *n.*; schism in, 76; site of ancient monastery questioned, 60; the Sound of, 59\*, 60 *n.*, 96, 106\*, 109, 196, 200; Sound of, shouting over, and visible signals, 201; stone for a table in, 60; topography of, 7, 58-60, 60 *n.*; usages of, 40; various forms of word, 58 *n.*; visit to, 9; the western plain, 143, 174.
- Ireland, Aldfrith's poem on, 247; ancient laws of, 17, 19 *n.*; at first purely Celtic, 14; called the 'barbarous island', 14; clan system in, 14; climate of, 238; early Christianity in, 13\*; early monachism in, 33\*; English law throughout in, 19; fosterage in, 225; four laws of, 74 *n.*; how far affected by Roman civilization, 13 *n.*; reptiles in, 245; Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of, 246; (Scotia) and Britain, great plague in, 161.
- Irenaeus, 211, 235.
- Irish, called Scoti, 20 *n.*; speak of 'the Saxon', 193; welcomed prophecies, 190; Annals, 205; Arch. and Celtic Society, 7; bishop, 90; captives restored, 73; Christianity from Britain, 50; Church, 211, 214, 229; Clergy, independent of Rome, 41 *n.*; cloak, 196; colony in North Britain, 57; soil, 246; form of Greek letters, 189; genitives, 191, 198, 204; Greek writing, 42 *n.*; hagiology, 230; 'howl', 245; laws, epitome of, 76; Life of Adamnan, 73; of St. Columba, 8: *see* O'Donnell, 196; MSS., 187, 190, 235, 243, &c.; virtues of, 212; MS. Series, 80; names disguised, 71 *n.*, 247, 248; paganism attacked, 62; patterns, 235; Picts: *see* Picts; poems, 196; their virtues, 92; Rolls Series, 78; Text Society, 248; Saints, their familiarity with birds, 209; Lives of, 197, 200, 202; secular tradition, 249; synods, 223; worked in ivory, 219.
- Ironical saying, 70.
- Isell Ciarain, 48.
- Isicius, 215.
- Islands free from noxious creatures, 216, 217; sites for monasteries, 33.
- Islay, 214, 215\*.
- Isle of Saints, 200; St. Patrick's, 26.
- Isles of the sea, 161.
- Istria, 202.
- Italian designations, 206, 248.
- Italy, 107, 161, 206, 224; bishops in, 32 *n.*; Transalpine, 187; Upper, 235.
- Jacob's pillow, 233.
- James I, 21, 194.
- Jannes and Jambres, 192.
- Jarrow, 66; plague at, 224.
- Jelly-fish, 220.
- Jeremiah, St. Jerome on, 21 *n.*
- Jerome, St., 21 *n.*, 81, 206, 227; De Viris Illustr., 235; Epistles, 206.
- Jerusalem, 54, 70, 191, 234; pilgrimage to, 220.
- Jesuits clad as angels, 249.
- Jewish ideas, 33.
- Jews, 57.
- Jocelin, 189, 205; Vita Kentegerni, 80; Vita S. P., 23, 28\*, 80, 189, 205.
- Jocular expressions, 201.
- Johannes fil. Conallis fil. Domnallis, 124, 138, 140.
- John IV, pope, 70.
- John Evangelist, St., 69, 145.
- Jonah, 189.
- Jones the Pedlar, 240.
- Jordan, river, 91.
- Joseph, nutritor Domini, 225.
- Josephus, 239; silence of, as to Christians, 23.
- Joshua, son of Nun, 91.
- Joyce, Dr. P. W., 27, 80\*; Geog. of Counties, 33 *n.*; Short Hist. of Ireland, 15 *n.*, 17 *n.*, 43 *n.*, 49 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 190, 218, 225, 230, 231; on Irish names, 192, 195, 196, 206, 209, 211, 212, 218, 230, 234.
- Julian (and Mearns), Dict. Hymnol., 80.
- Jura, 196.
- Jurisdiction territorial, not diocesan, 36.
- Justin Martyr, 211.
- Justus, a deacon, 48.
- Kailli-au-inde, 144, 217.
- Kannechi Vita, 80, 208: *see* Cainnech.



- Keating, Dr. Geoffrey, *Hist. Ireland*, 80, 219, 248.  
 Keble quoted, 18 *n.*, 222.  
 Keelan, the widow, 50 *n.*, 74 *n.*  
 Keller, 228; Bilder, &c., 43 *n.*  
 Kells, 225, 226; antiquities of, 55;  
   Book of, 35 *n.*, 43\*, 44 *n.*\*, 55,  
   233; grant of, to S.C., 55, 198;  
   monastery of, 44.  
 Kelly, Matthew, 79 (*Cambrensis Eversus*).  
 Kelly, publisher, 8.  
 Kenlis (Kells), 'Head Fort,' 54.  
 Kennedy's *Vergil*, 200.  
 Kenneth (Cainnech), 196.  
 Kentigern, St., 80\*.  
 Kerrera, 223.  
 Kerry, 246.  
 Kevin, St., 48, 49; his 'Kitchen', 54.  
 Kiaran, St., of Clonmacnoise, 225,  
   233; of Saiger, St., 233; *see* Ciaran.  
 Kierani, S., Vita, 202, 208.  
 Kilchattan, 221.  
 Kilclay, near Clogher, 211.  
 Kilcleagh, in Westmeath, 211.  
 Kilclicief, in co. Down, 211.  
 Kilcolmonell, 196.  
 Kildare, 16 *n.*, 30, 242; Gospels of,  
   44 *n.*  
 Kildonan, 231.  
 Kilkenny, Archæol. Society of, 248;  
   Book of (Codex Marshii, *q. v.*), 6.  
 Kilkennys, the two, 196.  
 Killeany, 45.  
 Kilmore, Cella magna, 31; in Ros-  
   common, 210.  
 Kilnamartry, 242.  
 Kilns, 35, 61, 208, 237.  
 Kilpatrick, Old, 24 *n.*  
 Kinel Owen, 83 *n.*  
 Kinell Conaill, 83.  
 King's County, 54, 225.  
 Kintyre, 57; Mull of, 205.  
 Kircher, *Mundus Subterr.*, 221.  
 Kishes, 212.  
 Kiss, salutation by, 106, 166.  
 Kitchen, 35.  
 Korkureti, 119, 209, 234, 248.  
 Kylose, 207.  
 Kyrie eleeson, 28, 41.  
  
 Lacerta agilis, 245.  
 Laeghaire, son of Niall, king, 19, 26,  
   62\*, 83, 229.  
 Lagenenses *vel* Lagini, 94, 124, 141,  
   195, 208.  
 Lagenensium provincia, 141 *n.*, 172,  
   229.  
 Lagenorum partis fluvius, 131.  
 Laighen, a spear, 195, 229.  
 Laisran, the gardener, 88, 102; son  
   of Feradach, abbot, 69, 70, 83,  
   100, 107, 198.  
 Laisranus Mocumoie (hortulanus),  
   88, 102.  
 Laisre of Leighlin, St., 194.  
 Laisren *or* Molaise, St., 56, 60, 64.  
 Laitirus, 218.  
 Lambay insula, 220: *see* Rechrea.  
 Lambton, 'Worm' of, 216.  
 Lam-dess, 140, 215.  
 Lammass fair, 225.  
 Land sown late yields early harvest,  
   123, 127.  
 Lanfranc, abp., 41.  
 Languages, 203.  
 Lanigan, Dr., 48.  
 Lanterns, 184.  
 Laoghaire, Laeghaire, *q. v.*  
 Lasciciput (Latherhead), 20 *n.*, 37 *n.*  
 Lathreginden, 103, 202.  
 Latin, 42\*; Church, 208; late, 81;  
   equivalents of names, 77; Fathers,  
   42; Lives of S.C., 50; living lan-  
   guage in monasteries, 42; of St.  
   Patrick, 22; lands, 233, 234.  
 Laurence, abp. of Canterbury, 226.  
 Laurentian gneiss, 59.  
 Law, Mosaic, of two witnesses, 224.  
 Lawlor, Professor, 246.  
 Lea regio, 105, 201.  
 Leabhar Breac, 8, 51, 74, 80\*, 205.  
 Leathern milk-bag, 150.  
 Leaves written by S.C. not injured  
   by water while others were, 123,  
   130, 131.  
 Ledo (tide), 219.  
 Ledwich, 21.  
 Le Fanu, Seventy Years, 216\*.  
 Legendae sunt lugendae, 22.  
 Leighlin, 194.  
 Leinster, 94, 229\*; bard in, 51;  
   bishop for, 36; Book of, 249;  
   king of, 83 *n.*: *see* Lagenenses.  
 Leix, 233.  
 Lent, 152.  
 Lerins, 25, 29 *n.*  
 Lesson, *Hist. nat. des Zooph.*, 220.

- Letha *or* Lethanus, 88, 97.  
 Letter I, 88, 105, 201.  
 Leviticus, 159.  
 Lex Adamnani, 74.  
 Liath Macha, 249.  
 Libellus de ortu S. Cuthb., 79, 207,  
 225; de Vita S. Godrici, 230.  
 Liber Hymnorum, H.B. S., 60, 65 *n.*;  
 67 *n.*, 80, 81, 213, 214; 'Kilken-  
 niensis', 80.  
 Libran and similar names, 219.  
 Libranus Harundineti *or* Arundineti,  
 125, 151-4; prophecies concern-  
 ing, 219; scruples of, 219.  
 Liffey, river, 212.  
 Light, filling the church, on a winter's  
 night, 177; from column of fire,  
 185; in church, 184; in the  
 Saint's cell, 178; on S. C. when  
 a child, 166; seen by Virgnous  
 on S. C., 164, 176; suddenly ap-  
 pearing, 178; visions of, 164\*,  
 175-8, 185.  
 Lightfoot, bishop, Leaders of N.  
 Church, 8.  
 Lights at births, 225; supernatural,  
 187.  
 Limerick, county, 215.  
 Linch-pins, 221.  
 Lincolnshire, cairn burial in, 204.  
 Lindisfarne, 15, 70, 202.  
 Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels,  
 62, 235.  
 Lismore, Book of, 8\*.  
 Lismore in Argyle, 198, 206.  
 Lissotriton palmipes *and* L. puncta-  
 tus, 246.  
 Lithus, 217.  
 Liturgy, a, of Welsh origin, 45.  
 Lives of SS., written and studied, 42.  
 Livy, 225.  
 Loarn, 197.  
 Loarn Mor, 83.  
 Loch Abair, 215.  
 Loch Awe, 203\*; Diae, 89, 191;  
 Finlagan, 215; Laoigh, 229; Ness,  
 216, 217, 218, 229: *see* Lough.  
 Lochaber, 215.  
 Lochan Mor, 59.  
 Lochandu, 204.  
 Lock opened without key, 148.  
 Loerni Genus, 160.  
 Loigsech Cennmor, 229.  
 Loire, river, 24 *n.*, 83.  
 London, British Museum, 82.  
 Londonderry, city, 53, 194; county,  
 64, 210; origin of name, 194.  
 Longa (Luing) isle, 140, 215.  
 Longford, county, 221.  
 Loogdae stagnum, 192.  
 Lord's Prayer, 42.  
 Lorica (Canticum) of S.P., 27, 80,  
 194.  
 Lorne, 222; Nether, 224; Upper,  
 209; tribe of, 223.  
 Lough Ce *or* Key, 207\*; Cuan, 47;  
 Derg, in Donegal, 29; Ree, 48:  
*see* Loch.  
 Louth (Ireland), 190.  
 Louth, county, 31; par. in co. Louth,  
 formerly Lugenagh, 31, 190.  
 Lua, 217.  
 Lucan, Pharsalia, 221.  
 Lucca, 48.  
 Lugaidus Lathir, the messenger, 104,  
 129, 150, 200.  
 Lugbeus Mocublai, 116, 207; gente  
 Mocumin, 101, 105, 107; Mocu-  
 min, 199, 201.  
 Lugdunum, 8.  
 Lughmagh, 190.  
 Lugidius *or* Lugudius Claudus  
*or* Clodus, 89, 114.  
 Lugnei coniux, 125, 155.  
 Lugneus Mocublai, 173, 179, 207;  
 Mocumin, 124, 136, 142, 199;  
 Tudida, a pilot, 125, 155.  
 Lugucencalad, 132, 213.  
 Lugudius fil. Tailchani, 'second  
 sight' by, 184.  
 Luguid Mocuthemne, 226.  
 Luing isle, 140, 215.  
 Luminous globe on head of S. C.,  
 176.  
 Lupus, St., 218.  
 Lynally, 198.  
 Lynch, Dr. John, Cambrensis Ever-  
 sus, 79, 80, 221.  
 Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. Ben., 78\*,  
 236; De Liturg. Gall., 229.  
 Macalister, R. A. S., 246.  
 Maccarthen, St., 212.  
 McCarthy, 78.  
 Mac Earc, a matronymic, 197.  
 Mac Firbis, Duald, 74, 79, 80;  
 Annals, 215; Book of, 18 *n.*  
 Mac Geoghegan's MS., 213.

- Maceria, 206, 248.  
 Machar, the : *see* Iona.  
 Macleane's Cross, 208.  
 Macmillan, Rev. A., 9.  
 Mac Naue, 87.  
 Mac Regol's Gospels, 235.  
 Maccu, race, 248.  
 Madan, MS. Books, 44 *n.*, 210, 213.  
 Madden, Sir F., 6.  
 Mael Odhrain, 200.  
 Maelcobha, king, 83.  
 Maelcon, 192.  
 Maelrubha, St., 71.  
 Magh Breg, 206; Elne, 210; Lunge, 69, 219.  
 Maghbile (Moville), 193.  
 Magheross, 207.  
 Magi (Druids), 16, 17, 37, 56 *n.*, 90, 113, 125, 145, 147; Irish synonyms of, 192.  
 Magical arts, 16.  
 Magna domus, 229.  
 Mahee island, 47.  
 Maic Erce filii, 98, 197.  
 Mailodranus, 104, 200.  
 Maior domus, 202.  
 Malachi I, king, 227.  
 Malea insula, 104, 115, 139, 200.  
 Malefactors, fate of, 138, 140, &c.  
 Malina (tide), 219.  
 'Man' of St. Matthew, 43.  
 Manichæan ideas, 33.  
 Manumission, 219.  
 Manus Dextera, 124, 140, 215.  
 Manuscripts collated, 201.  
 Mare's flesh as food, 104.  
 Margaret, queen, 76; Gospel Book of, 213.  
 Margaretan Reformation, 75.  
 Marriage laws, 220.  
 Married clergy, 22, 36.  
 Marseilles, 33, 41.  
 Marsh, primate, 6.  
 Marshii: *see* Codex.  
 Martène, De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus, 80, 208, 211.  
 Martin, St., 24 *n.*, 25\*, 33 *n.*, 229\*, 231; Celtic veneration for, 229; his day, 172; Gospel Book of, 54; legends concerning, 222; Life of, 43, 189.  
 Martin, Western Islands, 63 *n.*  
 Martyrology of Donegal, 68 *n.*, 80, 81, 196, 212; of Notker Balbulus, 81, 202, 230, 235; of Oengus, 38 *n.*, 74 *n.*, 80, 82; Roman, 72: *see* Calendar.  
 'Mary of Ireland', 30.  
 Mass, 228; at noon, 161, 223; not daily, 171; of 'St. Eunan', 71 *n.*; on St. Brendan's day, 171; Roman, 229; one, 31; term applied to Vespers. 228, 233: *see* Missa.  
 Masses, different, 31 *n.*, 32.  
 'Master Gemman', 51: *see* Gemmanus.  
 Matins, 233, 234.  
 Maucteus (Mochta), 30, 86, 190.  
 Maugdorni, 116, 207.  
 Manguina, 123, 129, 212.  
 Maunde Thompson, Gk. and Lat. Palæography, 43 *n.*, 82, 210.  
 Mayo, county, 49 *n.*, 197, 225.  
 Meath, 47, 54, 56, 73, 75 *n.*, 193, 206\*, 211, 212, 215, 225, 226, 248; *Mediterranea pars*, 195.  
 Medical aid sought, 106; treatment, 202.  
 Meigle, monument at, 206.  
 Meigli, 226.  
 Meldanus, 101.  
 Memento Domine, 229.  
 Memorials of Fountains, 207.  
 Mercia, 193.  
 Merlin, 190.  
 Merthyr, 242.  
 Mesloen, Berchanus, 178, 231.  
 Messingham, Tho., *Florilegium*, 6, 245.  
 Metcalfe, W. M., 7.  
 Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert, 40, 79, 200, 207, 216.  
 Meyer, Kuno, 246, 247.  
 Miathi, 197; battle of the, 98, 99.  
 Migne, P. G., 33 *n.*; P. L., 7, 14 *n.*, 21 *nn.*, 49 *n.*, 70 *n.*, 78\*, 81, 202\*, 206, 208, 222, 234, 237.  
 Miliucc, 24, 26.  
 Milk from an ox, turned into blood, 123, 135; superstitions regarding milk, 214.  
 Milk-bag, 125, 150, 218.  
 Milking, 135.  
 Milk-pails, 135, 182.  
 Mills, 35, 40.  
 Millstone as base, 182; for Cross, 208, 232, 240.

- Miracle, atmosphere of, 68.  
 Miracles, 123-62, 186; after death of S. C., 159-62; short narrations of, 90-3, 186.  
 Misc. Biogr., Surt. Soc., 79.  
 Missa, the term, 228, 233.  
 Missa Vespertinalis, 38 *n.*, 129, 183, 228, 233\*.  
 Missale Sarum, 25 *n.*; Stowense, 80; Vet. Hibern., 81.  
 Missals, 28.  
 Missionaries, Celtic, 14.  
 Missionary church of S. P., 32; organizations, 14.  
 Mistletoe, 16.  
 Mixed chalice, 126, 211.  
 Mo-, an endearing prefix, 71 *n.*  
 Mo-aedh-og, 72 *n.*  
 Mobhi Clarainech, St., 53\*.  
 Mobii, son of Natfreach (St. Mobhi), 52 *n.*  
 Mochoemoc, St., 211.  
 Mocholmog, 51 *n.*  
 Mochta, St., 30, 86, 190.  
 Mocu Aridi, Comgellus, 175, 209.  
 Mocu Dalon, Cainnechus, 175.  
 Mocu Neth Corb, gens, 95, 195.  
 Mocualti, Brendenus, 106, 175.  
 Mocudruidi, 115, 206.  
 Mocufirroide gens, 185, 234.  
 Moculogise, Columbanus, 163, 172, 229\*.  
 Mocumin, gens, 105, 107.  
 Mocumoie gens, 94, 194, 248.  
 Mocumoie, Laisranus, 102.  
 Mocurin gens, 104, 200.  
 Mocuruntir gens, 102, 200.  
 Mocusailni gens, 88, 97.  
 Mocusogin, Nemanidon, 128, 211.  
 Moda fluvius (Moy), 97, 196.  
 Modii, 211.  
 Modulatio, 229.  
 Moedhogh (Mogue), 72 *n.*  
 Moedoc, St., 44.  
 Moin Doire Lothair, 248.  
 Moira, 227.  
 Molaise *or* Laisren, St., soul-friend of S. C., 56, 60, 64.  
 Moles, 246.  
 Molua nepos Briuni, 143, 217.  
 Mona (Anglesey), 16.  
 Monachism, Egyptian and Syrian, 14.  
 Monaghan, county, 207\*.  
 Monasteries, Celtic, 32-6; Columban, 220; number of, 189; visitation of, 221.  
 Monasterium rotundum, 229.  
 Monastic habit taken, 111; taken for a time as penance, 205; Schools, 45; vows, 109, 154.  
 Monasticism, early Irish, 32; connected with clan system, 14.  
 Montalembert, Monks of the West, 8, 9, 18 *n.*, 46 *n.*, 75, 81.  
 Mopsuestia, 21.  
 Moray Firth, 216.  
 Morgan (Pelagius), 20.  
 Mortality, the great, 32, 125, 224.  
 Mortification from a cut, 119.  
 Morus, 22 *n.*  
 Mos Romanorum, 223; Scottorum, *ib.*  
 Moses, 91.  
 Moses, S. P. compared to, 27.  
 Mother, aged, to be supported, 152.  
 Mother Shipton, 190.  
 Moville, 193; School of, 47, 51.  
 Moy, river, 97, 196.  
 Moyola water, 53, 224, 225.  
 Mozarabic rite, 31 *n.*  
 Muirbolc Paradisi, 100, 198.  
 Muirbulcmar, 65, 185, 234.  
 Muircertach, 197.  
 Muirchol, Artdaib, 132.  
 Muirchu Maccumachtheni, Life of S. P., 20, 20 *n.*, 21 *n.*, 23, 25, 26, 28, 38 *n.*, 79, 81, 82, 214, 221, 225; his renderings, 37 *n.*  
 Muiredachi nepotes, 99, 197.  
 Mull, island of, 59, 200, 215, 240; the Ross of, 231.  
 Mull of Kintyre, 205.  
 Mullagh, the, 64.  
 Muminenses, 117, 208.  
 Munich, Royal Library, 6.  
 Munitio Brudei, 125, 148; Cethirni, 120, 121\*, 209; Magna, 128, 211.  
 Munna, Munde, *or* Mundus (Fintan, *q.v.*), St., 194, 195\*.  
 Munster, 26, 195, 208.  
 Murray, Sir James, 81.  
 Music, 207.  
 Natalis dies, 171, 223.  
 Natalitium Domini, 131, 223

- Natalius, scourged, 226.  
 Nativitas, 223.  
 Natrix torquata, 245.  
 Natural reason, 110, 203.  
 Navan, 225.  
 Neagh, Lough, 205.  
 Neale, Essays, 78; and Forles, Ancient Liturgies, 81, 229.  
 Neil, 226.  
 Nellis nepotes, 121, 209.  
 Neman, 206.  
 Nemanidon Mocusogin, 128, 211.  
 Nemanus fil. Cathir, 88, 104.  
 Nemanus fil. Gruthriche, 89, 114, 192.  
 Nemthur, 24.  
 Nennio, bp., 47.  
 Nepos, 'grandson,' 227.  
 Nepos Briuni, 143, 217.  
 Nesa *or* Nisa *or* Ness, river, 62, 142, 146, 173, 203, 216, 229.  
 Nesanus Curvus, 124, 137, 138.  
 Ness, Loch, 63, 102, 173, 203, 216, 217, 229.  
 Nestorius, the Patriarch, 21.  
 Nettle pottage, 68 *n.*  
 New Engl. Dict., 81, 197, 209, 230.  
 Newell, E. J., S. P., 30 *n.*, 81.  
 Newtown-Limavaddy, 64.  
 Newts, 246.  
 Niall of the Nine Hostages, 24, 83\*, 196, 209; why so styled, 51 *n.*  
 Niath Taloir, Nepos, 103, 200.  
 Nicaea, Council of, 40.  
 Nigra Dea fluvius, 149, 218.  
 Nindid, 52 *n.*  
 Ninian, St., 13, 47, 50, 52.  
 Ninnidh, 83.  
 'Nocte praeterita', 228.  
 Noendrum, School and Monastery of, 47.  
 Noi-fis, 19.  
 Noli Pater, 67.  
 Nominative absolute, 235.  
 Nones, 219.  
 Norfolk Broads, 220.  
 Norman, Rev. Dr. A. M., 220.  
 Northern Picts: *see* Picts; voyages, 220.  
 Northumberland, 193, 209.  
 Northumbria, 62, 70, 193, 224.  
 Northumbrian prince, 73.  
 Norwich, 23 *n.*  
 Nose, bleeding at, cured, 136.  
 'Noster', use of, 192.  
 Notes and Queries, 56 *n.*, 246.  
 Notker Balbulus: *see* Martyrology.  
 Nova (Citta Nuova), 202.  
 Nova Scotia, 191.  
 Novitiate, dispensed with, 203; dress of, 219.  
 Nutricia, soror et nutrix, 130.  
 Nutricius, 146, 217, 225, 249.  
 Nutritor, 166, 225, 231, 249.  
 Nutritores, 99, 198.  
 O and U, confusion of, 243.  
 O', prefix, 194.  
 Oak, the sacred, 16.  
 Oak groves, Christian settlements at, 16 *n.*  
 Oars, use of, 233.  
 Oath broken, 151.  
 Oban, 62.  
 'Obsecro', 235.  
 Obsequies, 228; lasted for three, twelve, or eight days, 234.  
 O'Clerigh *or* O'Clery, Michael, 79, 80, 81.  
 O'Connell, Dan, at Tara, 74 *n.*  
 O'Connor, Dermot, 80.  
 O'Conor, Dr. C., *Rer. Hib. Scr.*, 78, 206.  
 O'Curry, Manners, &c., 17 *nn.*, 19 *n.*, 20 *n.*, 74 *n.*, 81, 218, 219, 225, 239, 241; *MS. Materials*, 39 *n.*, 40, 42 *n.*, 55, 67 *nn.*, 78\*, 79, 80\*, 81, 82, 190, 196, 230, 241.  
 Odhran, St., 227\*.  
 O'Donnell family, 51, 56 *n.*  
 O'Donnell, Manus, *Life of S. C.*, 8\*, 50 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 53 *n.*, 55, 56, 60, 61, 67, 81, 189, 211, 216, 220, 221, 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 246.  
 O'Donovan, Dr., 80, 226, 246, 247, 248.  
 Oengus, Calendar of: *see* Stokes, W.  
 Offensus, 209.  
 O'Flaherty, Roderic, 81; *Ogygia*, 221; *West Connaught*, 219.  
 -og, termination, 72 *n.*  
 Oidechan island, 78, 134, 214.  
 Oil, present of, 49.  
 Oingusius fil. Aido Commani, 100, 198.  
 Oisseneus, 95, 195.  
 O'Kalleher, 246.  
 Olaf, St., 71 *n.*  
 Old Irish Life: *see* O'Donnell.

- Old Kilpatrick, 24 *n.*; Latin Psalter, 81; text of N.T., 43, 56 *n.*; 'Style', 40 *n.*
- Olden, Rev. Thomas, 21, 190; Church of Ireland, 15 *n.*, 20 *n.*, 24 *n.*, 29 *n.*, 36 *n.*, 38 *n.*, 40, 81; Epp. and Hymns of S.P., 22 *n.*, 27 *n.*, 81; in Proc. R.I.A., 27 *n.*
- Ollamh, 18 *n.*
- O'Mahony, John, 80.
- Ommon insula, 112.
- Ondemone, battle of, 97, 197, 248.
- One shoe off, 133, 134, 214.
- Ooa, the, 214.
- Open air study, 141; vespers, 206.
- Ophthalmia, 130.
- Oratio super Diptycha, 229.
- Oratory or church of the monastery, 61, 148, 155, 157\*; locked up, 148; visited after voyage, 157.
- Orcaes: *see* Orkneys.
- 'Ordaining machines', 36 *n.*
- Orders, three learned pagan, 15; Three, in Christian times, 19; Three, of Irish SS., 31.
- Ordination, by a single bishop, 205; by bishop and priest, 111; per saltum, 52\*; of priests, &c., 41; in Roman rite, 208.
- Oriels, tribe of, 45.
- Orientation, 35.
- Orkneys, 65, 156, 220\*.
- Ormonde, Marquis of, 248.
- Osric, king, 193.
- Ossory, diocese, 214; king of, 245.
- O'Sullivan Bear, Compendium, 77, 81.
- Oswald, king, 70, 91, 92, 193\*, 209; St., cross of, 212; St., vision of, 91.
- Oswin, king, 249.
- Oswiu, king, 73.
- Over-curious brothers, 174, 178\*.
- Ovid, Metam., 232; Rem. Amor., 217.
- Owen Gulban, 83 *n.*
- Ownan, 71 *n.*
- Ox, dying, recovered by holy water, 136.
- Oxalis acetosella, 246.
- Oxford, Clarendon Press, 10; C. C. C. at, 9, 81; Corpus missal and satchel at, 44; St. John's College, 44.
- Pacification between Erin and Alba, 64.
- Pagan architecture, 39; forts, 51; ideas, 30, 33.
- Palaeographical Soc., Old, 35 *n.*
- Palestine Pilgr. Texts, 78.
- Palladius, sent to Ireland, 21; lost history of, 25.
- Papal sanction not sought for missions, 58.
- Paradisus, 198.
- Parasticia, 232.
- Paris, Irish Codex at, 189.
- Parsonstown, 225.
- Paschal controversy, 96, 201: *see* Easter.
- Paschales dies, 41.
- Paten, 20.
- Patraicc, 24.
- Patrician bishops, 32 *n.*, 41; documents, 21, 43; period, saints of, 30.
- Patricii Acta, 79; Opera, 81.
- Patricius, a name of Palladius, 21; presbyter, 235.
- Patrick, St., 19\*, 62, 74 *nn.*, 80, 82\*, 83, 212; alleged association with St. Martin, 229; alleged mission from Rome, 27; alleged prophecy concerning, 20; alluded to once only by Adamnan, 88, 190; apostle of Ireland, 27; arrival in Ireland, 13; authorities concerning, 22; bell of, 28, 38; biography of, 22; boyish sin, 24, 26; birthplace, 245; burial, 27, 246; canons attributed to, 28; captivity, 24, 25; chariot of, 206; clerical father and grandfather of, 36; Confession of, 17 *n.*, 22, 24\*-7, 215; crosier of, 28, 29; cursed a river, 215; death of, 27; disciple of, 190; drove demons into sea, 228; drove away serpents, 216, 245; earlier life of, 24; Epistle on Coroticus, 22, 23; Ep. and Hymn of, 81; exposure to extreme cold, 230; feast of, 23 *n.*; flight and wanderings, 24; Gospels, 39; historic doubts concerning, 21; influence and literary remains of, 27; lands of, 73; later life of, 26; legends concerning, 28; Lent fast, 38; Lives of, 76,

- 81, 208; mission of, 25; obsequies of, 234; Ordination of, 25; primary documents relating to, 22 *n.*; Proper Lessons for, 23 *n.*; Purgatory, 33; sayings of, 28; signed himself 100 times a day, 214; statue of, 74 *n.*; Sunday observance, 38 *n.*; thought to have introduced Wed. and Fr. fasts, 201; Translation of, 24 *n.*; visited the well of Slan, 213; winding-sheet of, 30; writings of, 25, 190, 191, 192; and Palladius, confusion about, 21, 25.
- Patricks, two, 25 *n.*
- Patrons, three, of Ireland, 30.
- Paul, St., 57, 92, 145, 170, 216; visions of, 117.
- Paulinus Nolanus, 202.
- Pausanias, 217, 225.
- Pausare, 235.
- Pebble superstitions, 217\*.
- Pebbles blessed, 63 *n.*
- Peeping through keyhole, 231.
- Pelagianism, 20, 21.
- Pelagius, 20.
- Pembrokeshire, 222.
- Pen (calamus), 143; (stylus), 159.
- Penance, 42, 68\*, 105, 122; enjoined on S. C., 56, 64.
- Penda, king, 193.
- Penitential canons, 201, 219; code, 48.
- Pennine Alps, 235.
- Perception, want of, 201.
- Perforated stone, 16.
- Perils by the sea, 123\*, 132, 133.
- Persecutors, fate of, 138, 140, 141.
- Perthshire, 204.
- Pestiferous cloud, 123, 127.
- Pestis icterica, 224.
- Peter, St., 124, 141, 145.
- Peter Abelard, 234.
- Petra Cloithe, 101, 199.
- Petrie, Dr., 55; Antiquities, in Trans. R. I. A., 18 *n.*, 25 *n.*; of Tara, 247; Christian Inscriptions, 49; Round Towers, 36, 44 *n.*, 81, 223, 230, 231, 239\*, 246.
- Phelim, 51.
- Phonetic changes, 72 *n.*
- Pictish Chronicle, 75; Church, 63; corps, 203; jurisdiction, 58; language, 203, 217; name, 200; paganism attacked, 62; presbyter, 131; tribe, had owned Iona, 58.
- Pictor, 228.
- Picts, battle with, 197, 224; evangelization of, 50; mission to, 58 *n.*; heathen, 57, 203; region of, 124; S. C. sojourns with, 132; British, 62; Irish, 62, 192, 197\*, 203, 209; Northern, 192\*; and British Scoti, their exemption from great European plague attributed to St. Columba, 161; and Scots, natural division between, 204.
- Pike (fish), 215, 216.
- Pike (?), great, 142.
- Pilgrim, 195; pilgrim's staff, 198.
- Pilgrims, Irish, 29 *n.*
- Pillar of fire, 185.
- Pillars, nine, of Senchus Mor, 19.
- Pillows, stones for, 183, 233.
- Pilu Saxo, 179.
- Pimpernel, Water, 16 *n.*
- Pine-wood box, 129.
- Pinkerton, 75; Vitae Antiquae SS. Scotiae, 7\*, 81.
- Pipan, 83.
- Pirates, massacre by, 231.
- Piscina Berachi, 234.
- Pistor, 228.
- Plague, a great, 125, 161.
- Plague, yellow, 53 *n.*, 224.
- Plagues, several, 224.
- Platea, 210.
- Plateola, 227.
- Platform of cell, 201, 216, 231.
- Pliny, Hist. Nat., 16 *nn.*, 221, 232.
- Plummer, Dr. A., tr. of Döllinger, 190; Rev. C., editions by, 81; Baedae Opp. Hist., 21 *n.*, 40 *n.*, 41 *n.*, 74 *n.*, 208, 215, 247\*, 248\*, 249\*; doubts as to S. P., 21; help from, 9, 10, 245; Vitae SS. Hib., 6, 10, 17 *n.*, 31 *n.*, 40 *n.*, 63 *n.*, 81, 82, 213, 235, 246, 247.
- Plural for singular, 200.
- Poacher after the seals, 115.
- Pocock, Tour, 200, 221.
- Poems in praise of St. Columba, supernatural virtues of, 92, 194.
- Polairi, 44, 213.
- Polychronicon, Higden's, 246.
- Polygamy, 36.

- Pomponius Mela, 82, 235.  
 Pontoppidan, Nat. Hist., 221.  
 Poor beggar, 125, 148; family, 118.  
 Pope, silence concerning, 31 *n.*, 58.  
 Port-na-Churaich, 60.  
 — Laithrichean, 61 *n.*  
 — na-Lung, 203.  
 — na-Muintir, 203.  
 — na-Murloch, 198.  
 — Ronain, 203.  
 Portus Iouae, 108, 134, 161, 203.  
 Potato-bin, 243.  
 Potitus, 24.  
 Poverty, celibacy, and obedience, 36.  
 Praepositus, 136.  
 Prayers for the dead, 68, 229.  
 Pre-Christian Ireland, 15 *n.*  
 Pre-Patrician period, 13.  
 Prefix of affection, 71 *n.*  
 Presents: *see* Xenia.  
 Privacy, injunction for, 230.  
 Prophecies, 88, 89, 93-122; of Cormac's voyages, 156, 157; spurious, 190.  
 Prophecy, accompanying miracle, 137, 138, 151, 165; concerning King Aidan, and its fulfilment, 168; c. an infant, 132; c. Maugina, 129; c. Columbanus fil. Beogni, 135; of death of murderer, 141; of Diormit's long life, 144; of that of Libran, 151, 154; grace of, 187; of greatness of Iona, 182; with healing, 129; of St. Bridget, 30; of Maucteus, concerning St. Columba, 86.  
 Proselyti, 109.  
 Prosper of Aquitaine, Contra Collatorem, 14 *n.*; Chron., 21 *n.*  
 Protum, 211.  
 Provinces, names of, 195.  
 Provincia, use of term, 216.  
 Prudentius, 189.  
 Psalter, (the Cathach), 39, 56 *n.*; of St. Finnian, 48; recited in water, 230; transcribed, 88, 105, 183.  
 Psalterium Gallicanum, 81.  
 Psalterium Romanum, 81, 203, 233.  
 Psalters, four, 81\*.  
 Puer (attendant), 216, 217.  
 Punitioes (pains), 220.  
 Punt-pole (contulus), 142.  
 Purgatory, S. P.'s, 29 *n.*  
 Pyramis (canopy?), 95, 195.  
 Pyrenees, 161.  
 Quanti et qualis, 234.  
 Quarrelsome habits of Celt, 190.  
 Quartodecimans, 40 *n.*, 41 *n.*  
 Queen's county, 233.  
 Querns, corn ground by hand in, 202.  
 Question expressed by *si*, 220.  
 Quick hedge, 33.  
 Rachel, tomb of, 195.  
 Rain procured, 125, 159; pestiferous, 128.  
 Raine, Dr. J., 248.  
 Raising from death, 124, 144\*, 145.  
 Ramsay, Physical Geogr., 29 *n.*  
 Rana temporaria, 245.  
 Raphoe, foundation of, 71 *n.*  
 Ratabusta, 186, 234.  
 Rath, 217; mor, 211; of the Synods, 74 *n.*, 223; of Teltown, 226.  
 Rathlin, 196\*: *see* Rechrea, Rechru.  
 Real Presence, 68.  
 Rebdorf MS., 6.  
 Recensions, two, 7.  
 Rechra island, 70.  
 Rechrea insula, 155, 220.  
 Rechru insula, 97, 196, 220.  
 Recles or monastery, 60.  
 Reeds for thatch, 220; got in Reed-ground, 154.  
 Reeves, Dr., his account of Adamnan's style, 76; descr. of St. Patrick's bell, 38; Eccl. Ant., 31 *n.*, 35 *nn.*, 81, 196\*, 201, 211, 223; ed. of Adamnan, 1857, *passim*; 1874, 7, 61, 198, 200\*, 203, 205, 215, 218, 237; Life of, by Lady Ferguson, 9, 21 *n.*  
 Reginaldus Dunelm., 81.  
 Refectory, 35.  
 Regulus Orcadum, 156.  
 Reichenau MS., 6.  
 Reilig (relic, cemetery) Orain, 227, 231, 232.  
 Relaxation in honour of a visitor, 104, 106.  
 Relics, custodians of, 246; of S. C. employed, 159, 160.  
 Religious Tract Society, 82.  
 Remigare, 233.  
 Reptiles in Ireland, 29 *n.*



- Resurrection, awaiting, 219, 220;  
     looked forward to rather than  
     burial, 234; place of, 154.  
 Revised Version, 212.  
 Revue Celtique, 78, 249.  
 Rhydderch son of Tudwal, 199.  
 Right hand used in blessing, 233.  
 Rime, Irish, 198.  
 'Ring the bell', 98.  
 Ripon, Ailcey *or* Elveshou hill, 222.  
 Ripon Psalter, 82, 231, 233.  
 Rivers and lakes haunted, 216\*.  
 Roads, rough, 221.  
 Roaring sea monsters, 216.  
 Robe, vision of, 165, 225.  
 Roboreae materiae, 223.  
 Roborei, Roboris, *vel* Roboreti Cam-  
     pus (Durrow), 107, 121, 127, 154,  
     164, 173, 202.  
 Roboretum Calgachi (Derry), 93,  
     104.  
 Rocca, De Campanis, 221.  
 Rock salt, 123, 130.  
 Rodaighe, 83.  
 Rodain, filii, 226.  
 Rodericus rex, 101; fil. Tothail, 199.  
 Rogation Wednesday, 202.  
 Rolls Series, 79, 82\*, 226.  
 Roman Breviary, 33 *n.*; Britain, 75;  
     Canon, 31 *n.*; canon law, 36;  
     city, 88, 107; Easter and tonsure,  
     late accepted, 41 *n.*; Empire, in-  
     fluence of, 13; laws Christianized,  
     19 *n.*; matrons, 234; occupation,  
     14; service-books, 199; soldiers,  
     panic among, 16; vallum, North-  
     ern, 197; Romana civitas, 161, 187.  
 Romans, 31.  
 Romanum ius, 202.  
 Rome, 21, 22, 54; alleged journeys  
     of S. P. to, 23 *n.*, 25, 26; educa-  
     tion at, 47; independence of: *see*  
     Pope; MS. brought from, 48.  
 Ronan, 71, 83, 207.  
 Ronan fil. Aido, 89, 117.  
 Ronnat, 71, 83.  
 Rönsch, Hermann, 81, 233, 237\*,  
     238, 240, 241, 242.  
 Roscommon, county, 207, 210.  
 Rosnarea, 233.  
 Ross of Mull, 59, 231.  
 Rossa, 19.  
 Roth (Magh Rath), 227; battle of,  
     168.  
 Rotundum monasterium, 202.  
 Round tower, fall from, 164, 173.  
 Round towers, uses of, 35, 36, 230:  
     *see* Petrie.  
 Routh, Reliquiae Sacrae, 226.  
 Rowers, 103.  
 Rowing at sea, 157, 160, 233.  
 Ruadan, St., 52 *n.*, 74 *n.*  
 Rud, Tho., 82.  
 Rules, Irish monastic, 67 *n.*  
 Ruleystal, 248.  
 Rumold, St., 72 *n.*  
 Rus, 226.  
 Russian Easter, 40 *n.*  
 Ryves, Sir Tho., 21.  
 Sabbatarian Sunday, 40.  
 Sabbath (7th day), 101, 181, 182,  
     199\*, 232\*.  
 Sacramentum, 117, 122, 169, 179,  
     208.  
 Sage *or* philosopher (sapient), 108,  
     121, 122, 210.  
 Sailing against the wind, 147.  
 Sainea insula, 160, 161, 224.  
 Saint, Albans, 196; Gall, MS. at, 6;  
     Notker of, 230; 'Kevin's kitchen',  
     54; Malo, 79; Omer's, 249: *see*  
     *under specific names.*  
 Saints, Intercession of, 162; Early  
     Irish, 30; names of, disguised,  
     71 *n.*  
 Saints' days, 37.  
 Salacia, wife of Neptune, 218.  
 Salacia unda, 218.  
 Salamanca MS., 81.  
 Sale fluvius, 136, 222; two rivers,  
     215.  
 Salic Law, 19 *n.*  
 Sallachans, 209.  
 Sallows, 209.  
 Salmanticensis codex, 8.  
 Salmon (esox), 218; cooked, 200;  
     killed on a pointed stake, 149;  
     large, 136.  
 Salt, blessed, 130\*; deliquescence  
     of, 212.  
 Saltrey, Henry of, 29.  
 Samolus, 16 *n.*  
 Sancti, venite, 28, 213.  
 Sanctuary, 200.  
 Sanda, 205.  
 Sapiens vir, epithet, 203: *see* Sage.  
 Sardinia, 217.

- Satchels, 44, 130, 131, 213.  
 Saturday (*Sabbatum*), a fast, 202.  
 Saul, the barn church at, 26, 27;  
     burial of S. C. at, 46 n.; burial of  
     S. P. at, 27.  
 Saxo (Englishman), 171, 179, 193,  
     228, 231.  
 Saxo-Brits, 203.  
 'Saxon' (English), 91.  
 Saxon Chronicles, 58 n., 203.  
 Saxonia (England), 99, 162, 248.  
 Saxons, 203.  
 Scandal fil. Bresail, 226.  
 Scandianus fil. Colmani, 99, 198.  
 Scanlann, 64; Mor, 198\*.  
 Scarba, 196, 215\*.  
 Schaffhausen, Library at, 6; Libra-  
     rian at, 236, 249.  
 'School-books', 43.  
 Schools, monastic, 45-50; private,  
     49 n.  
 Scia insula, 64, 89, 110, 141, 203,  
     204.  
 Scoti, Britanniae, 224; Irish in Iona,  
     92.  
 'Scotia', &c., meanings of, 189, 191,  
     192, 247.  
 Scotia (Ireland), 95, 108, 171, 198,  
     199, 218, 220, 235, &c.; Major,  
     Minor, Vetus, 191; 'nostra', 187.  
 Scotie Church, 70; in sixth cent.,  
     67; jurisdiction, 58.  
 Scotica lingua (Irish language), 92,  
     100; serva, 217.  
 Scotice (in Irish), 95, 160, 169,  
     171.  
 Scoticus poeta, 207.  
 Scotland (N.B.), 196, 218, 225;  
     early Christianity in, 13\*; mis-  
     sion to, 71; modern, part of  
     Britain, 218; watershed of, 204.  
 Scots (Irish), 31.  
 Scott, Sir W., 79.  
 Scourgings, visionary, 226, 249.  
 Scriptorum rerum Hib., 78.  
 Sea monster, 88, 102.  
 Seals for food, 60 n., 115, 207.  
 Seangleann, 288.  
 Sechnall, St., hymn of, on S. P.,  
     23 n., 25, 27, 28, 213.  
 Second sight: *see under* Columba,  
     St., *also* 184, 185.  
 Secrecy, injunctions to, 169, 175,  
     177, 179.  
 Secundinus: *see* Sechnall.  
 Sedna, 71, 83.  
 Sedulius, the poet, 20 n.; the Irish  
     commentator, 208.  
 Segenus presbyter, 70.  
 Seghine *or* Segineus, abbot, 23, 70,  
     71, 72, 83, 92, 96, 129, 194.  
 Seil, river, 222.  
 Selago, 16 n.  
 Selby Abbey, 217.  
 Senan, St., 231, 234.  
 Senchus Mor, 19, 21 n., 28, 78, 81,  
     213.  
 Sentina, 213.  
 Sepulchral barrows, 204.  
 Sequestrati, 232.  
 Serpents, driven from Ireland, 29,  
     216; harmless, if present, in Iona,  
     216: *see* Vipers.  
 Servitude, redemption from, 14.  
 Seven, the pagan number of days of  
     obsequies, 234; years' penance,  
     152, 205.  
 Shakespeare, 232.  
 Shamrock, 29 n., 246.  
 Shannon, river, 48, 207, 210.  
 Sheep killed for a poacher, 115.  
 Shells forming sand, 59.  
 Ships *or* boats, appliances for, parts  
     of, terms for, 222, 241.  
 Shoe, one off, 133.  
 Shoes put on in a morning, 172.  
 Shouting over the Sound, 88, 106\*,  
     109, 116.  
 Shrines, 75 n.  
 Shuna isle, 224.  
 Sicily, 235.  
 Side-house (*exedra*): *see* Erdamh.  
 Sidh (pronounced *shee*), fairy, 222,  
     230.  
 Sign of the Cross, 68.  
 'Signate', 217.  
 Signing with the Cross, 135, 141 n.,  
     142, 143, 148.  
 Signum (a bell), 221, 229.  
 Silnanus, monachus, fil. Nemanidon  
     Mocusogin, 115, 128, 129; qui-  
     dam maleficus, 135.  
 Simon Magus, 37.  
 Sinus Gallicus, 147, 217.  
 Sithean Mor *and* S. Beg, 222.  
 Skene, Dr. W. F., 198, 200, 203,  
     205, 215, 218; Celtic Scotland,  
     8\*, 27 n., 52 n., 53 n., 60 n., 61 n.,

- 62 *n.*, 64 *n.*, 67, 81, 214, 246; ed. of Adamnan: *see* Reeves, 1874.  
 Skins for writing on, 43.  
 Skreen, co. Meath, 75 *n.*; co. Sligo, *ib.*  
 Skye: *see* Scia.  
 Slaine, river, 198.  
 Slan, 213.  
 Slanore, co. Longford, 221.  
 Sleeping arrangements, 37.  
 Sleibte, *or* Sletty, 225.  
 Slemish, Mill of, 24.  
 Slieve Bregagh, 206.  
 Sligo, county, 75, 196, 198; town, 55, 247.  
 Small, Mr. John, 79.  
 Small-pox, 212.  
 Smith, a, 228.  
 Smith, John, (1) ed. of Baeda, 78\*; (2) Life of S. C., 9, 82, 228.  
 Smith and Wace, Dict. Chr. Biog., 82.  
 Snail-shell sand, 59.  
 Snake's egg, 16.  
 Snakes, 216, 249.  
 Snamluthir, 158, 221.  
 Soc. Ant. Lond., Proceedings of, 37 *n.*  
 Society marks, 245.  
 Sockburn, 'Worm' of, 216.  
 Solinus, Polyhistor., 82, 219, 221, 245.  
 Somner, 214.  
 Son-book *or* copy, 55, 56 *n.*, 211.  
 'Sons', students, 64 *n.*  
 Soroby, 203.  
 Soul-friend (anmchara), 48, 56.  
 Souls seen to be borne by angels to Paradise *or* Heaven, 163\*, 168-73.  
 Sound: *see* Iona.  
 Sowing, time for, 222.  
 Sozomen, Eccl. Hist., 33 *n.*  
 Spain, 161, 187, 235.  
 S.P.C.K., 81\*.  
 Speaker's Commentary, 212, 217.  
 Spear that could not hurt, 124, 143.  
 Spear-head *or* shaft scraped, 119, 209.  
 Speckled Book, 8, 80.  
 Spelling, 'barbarous', 6.  
 S.S. (sanctissimi?), 236, 249.  
 Staff, story of, 68; of St. Cainnech recovered, 123, 134; 'of Jesus', 29.  
 Stagnum Aporum *vel* Aporicum, 137, 148, 215; Cei, 116, 207; Loch Diae, 89, 204; Vituli, 172, 229.  
 Stake, pointed, to kill deer *or* fish, 125, 148.  
 Stakes: *see* Sudes.  
 Standing in prayer, 178.  
 Steel, the, 248.  
 -ster, the termination, 195, 229.  
 Stirabout, Irish, 21 *n.*  
 Stokes, Dr. G. T., 21; on Greek, in Proc. R.I.A., 42 *n.*; Ireland and Celt. Ch., 20 *n.*, 23 *n.*, 30 *n.*, 33 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 36 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 63 *n.*, 65 *n.*, 82, 196, 221.  
 — Margaret, Early Chr. Art, 34 *n.*, 36, 38, 39 *n.*, 40, 44 *nn.*, 46 *n.*, 82; ed. of Dunraven, *q.v.*, 79; Six Months in the Apennines, 48.  
 — Whitley, 21; Lives of SS. from the Book of Lismore, 8; Martyrology *or* Calendar of Oengus, 28 *n.*, 42, 50 *n.*, 52 *n.*\*, 68 *n.*, 74 *n.*, 79, 80, 190, 194, 225; Thesaurus Palaeo-hibernicus, 249; Three Middle-Irish Homilies, 8; Tripartite, *passim*.  
 Stoles, 187, 234, 235.  
 Stone that swam, 125, 146.  
 Stone bed and pillow, 183; boat, 45 *n.*; buildings (early), 41 *n.*; carpentry, 223.  
 Stones for pillows, 233.  
 Storehouses, 35.  
 Storm foreseen, 97; stilled, 132, 133.  
 Stowe Library, 80; Missal, 17, 31 *n.*, 80, 248.  
 Strangford Lough, 26, 47\*.  
 Strathclyde, 22; Welsh of, 193.  
 Stray animals, 206.  
 Study, rooms for, 35.  
 Submerged codex, 58 *n.*  
 Succat, 24.  
 Sudden gladness and sadness of S. C., 179.  
 Sudes, figurative, 228; stakes for hurdle wall, 212.  
 Suibhne (Sweeney), 205; abbot, 71\*, 72, 83.  
 Suibneus fil. Columbani, 100, 198, 199.  
 Sullivan, Dr. W. K., 81.  
 Sulphureous fire from heaven, 107.

- Sulpicius Severus, 43, 189, 222, 231.  
 Summary of the entire work, 165.  
 Sun, moon, and stars, 32.  
 Sunday, 109; eve of, 232, 241; when first called Sabbath, 199; dinner, 172, 228; mass, 175, 181; observance, 37 *n.*, 38 *n.*, 40, 74 *n.*  
 Supremacy, Roman, 68.  
 Surii Vitae SS., 6, 234.  
 Surtees Society, 79\*, 81, 230.  
 Survivals in service-books, 189.  
 Sussex, 218.  
 Swarms of marine creatures, 157.  
 Swift, Dean, 245.  
 Swine fed on acorns, 140, 215.  
 Swiss, mission to, 58.  
 Sword, ornamented, 152.  
 Symeonis Dunelm., *De exordio, &c.*, 82; *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, 66 *n.*, 79, 82, 200, 206, 213, 227.  
 Synod in Ireland, 160.  
 Synods, 225, 226.  
 Syria, monasticism in, 14, 33\*, 34.  
 Tablets, Pre-Christian Irish, 42 *n.*; waxed, 205.  
 Tabula, 111.  
 Tacitus, *Agricola*, 194; *Annals*, 16 *n.*  
 Tailcend, 37 *n.*  
 Tailchan, 88, 93, 94, 95.  
 Tailchanus *or* Tulchan, 195.  
 Tailteann, 226.  
 Tamlaght Finlagan, 215.  
 Antony, 72 *n.*  
 Tara, 26, 27, 50 *n.*, 55, 57 *n.*, 62\*; Adamnan's memorials at, 74 *n.*; conventions at, 74; existing remains at, 247; great hall at, 35; mound of nine hostages at, 51 *n.*; O'Connell at, 74 *n.*; Rath of the Synods at, 74 *n.*, 223, 226; the regal seat of the head king, 205; sports at, 55.  
 Tarainus, 139.  
 Tedan, 72 *n.*  
 Teilte, 167, 225.  
 Teltown, 26, 226; synod at, 56, 166; vision at, 166.  
 Temple Douglas, 51.  
 'Tenacity', the vice of, 122.  
 Tennyson, 232.  
 Termination -ster, 195, 229.  
 Terryglass, 218.  
 Tertullian, *Ad Mart.*, 237.  
 Teutonic heathenism, 76; invasions, 248; occupation, 14.  
 Thecla, St., 217.  
 Theodosian Code, 19 *n.*  
 Thewnan, 72 *n.*  
 Thirty-three, 'the sacred age', 49.  
 Thistle, Thomas, 82.  
 Thompson, E. Maunde, Gk. and Lat. *Palaeography*, 43 *n.*, 82, 210.  
 Thompson, Nat. *Hist. of Ireland*, 245.  
 Three Orders and the Church, 19; of Irish Saints, 31; of pagan classes, 15.  
 Threshing of corn, 107.  
 Tiaga, 44, 213, 243.  
 Tiberius, abolished Druids in Gaul, 16.  
 Tides, 218, 219; ebb and flood, 150.  
 Tigernis, 207.  
 Tigherna, 207.  
 Tighernach, 66 *n.*, 224\*, 225.  
 Timber, the word, 223.  
 Timber building, 160\*.  
 Tinne, 83.  
 Tipperary, county, 218.  
 Tir-da-glas, 218.  
 Tir Lugdech, 51.  
 Tirechán, Notes on S. P., 21 *n.*, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29 *n.*, 82, 204, 213, 215.  
 Tíree, 65, 69, 200, 203\*, 205\*, 219\*, 228; monk in, 219: *see* *Ethica*.  
 Titles integral part of work, 198.  
 Titulus, 233.  
 Toads, &c.: *see* 29, 245, 246.  
 Tochanna Mocuircetea, 226.  
 Todd, Dr., 21, 48, 213; on Book of Kells, 35 *n.*; St. Patrick, 14 *n.*, 15 *n.*, 21 *n.*, 24 *n.*, 25 *n.*, 26 *n.*, 27, 37 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 71 *n.*, 82, 227.  
 Tolorg, 200.  
 Tombs of David and of Rachel, 195.  
 Tonsures (Celtic, Greek, Roman), 6, 31\*, 37, 43, 74, 75; various Irish, 32.  
 Tooley, 72 *n.*  
 Torr Abb, 232.  
 Torvean, 62 *n.*, 218.  
 Tothail, 101, 199.  
 Totmáel, 204.

- Tours, 25, 33 *n.*, 47, 54.  
 Towing of timber, 160\*, 222.  
 Tozer, Islands of Aegean, 216.  
 Tractarian movement, 68.  
 Travellers, two, 89, 109.  
 Treacherous man, fate of, 139.  
 Tree, vision of, 225.  
 Trefoil, 29 *n.*  
 Trenanus, Mocuruntir, 102.  
 Trevet, 206.  
 Trevisa's Higden, 246.  
 Trias Thaumaturga: *see* Colgan.  
 Trifolium minus, *T. pratense*, and  
     *T. repens*, 246.  
 Trigona (Hispania), 235.  
 Trinacria, 235.  
 Trinity, doctrine of, 29.  
 'Trinity' in place-names, 206.  
 Trioit, 115, 206.  
 Triota, 89, 115.  
 Tripartite: *see* Cusack, Stokes, W.  
 Trisulcae linguae, 232.  
 Trojan horse, 46 *n.*  
 Tubular stick, 68 *n.*  
 Tudida: *see* Lugneus.  
 Tudwal, 199.  
 Tuguriolum, 229.  
 Tulach-Dubhglaise, 51.  
 Tulchan, 195.  
 Tulus, 71 *n.*  
 Turtrei, nepotes, 105, 201.  
 Twelve, the number, 222; apostles  
     of Ireland, 46, 52; list of, 52 *n.*;  
     disciples of S. C., 58, 61, 69; of  
     Mochta, 31; years as anchorite,  
     234; years' penance, 201.  
 Twenty-three years more to live,  
     129.  
 Two, the number, in place-names, 218.  
 Two concelebrants, 208; witnesses,  
     224.  
 Tyne, river, 193.  
 Tynemouth, John of, 8.  
 Tyrone, 196.  
 Tyrrhene sea, 29.  
 Ua, *pl.* Ui, *now* O', 194.  
 Ua Briuin, 217; Corra, sons of, 40;  
     Liathain, 196.  
 Ui Fiachrach, 199.  
 Uigenus, 124, 137.  
 Uladh, 205.  
 Ulster, 26, 40, 53, 55, 195, 207, 209,  
     213, 224: *see* Annals.  
 Ultan, St., 23.  
 Umbilicus Hiberniae, 195.  
 Uncle of S. C., 118.  
 Uncion of the sick, 68.  
 Unworthy priest, 114.  
 Ussher, chronology of, 27, 31 *n.*,  
     46 *n.*, 49 *n.*, 63 *n.*, 82, 201\*, 207,  
     217, 225, 245.  
 Vadum Clid, 128, 212.  
 Valais, the, 235.  
 Vallum of monastery, 143.  
 Vardaei S. Rumoldi Acta, 72 *n.*  
 Various rules, &c., of third Order,  
     32.  
 Vendetta, 200.  
 Venilia, a sea goddess, 218.  
 Venilia unda, 218.  
 Vergil, Aen., 217, 225, 240; Georg.,  
     232.  
 Verses on three Saints, 246.  
 Vespers, 233; in open air, 206.  
 Vespertinales laudes, 113.  
 Vespertinalis Missa, 38 *n.*, 129, 183,  
     228, 233\*.  
 Vetusta Monumenta, 35 *n.*  
 Viaticum, 49, 227.  
 Victor, the Angel, 25.  
 Victorius, 25.  
 Vigil of S. C., 223.  
 Village on fire, 41.  
 Vinnianus episc. (Finnian of Mo-  
     ville), 126, 193.  
 Vipers made harmless, 143, 180:  
     *see* 249.  
 Virgnous, abbot (Fergna Brit), 70,  
     83 *n.*, 184, 231, 233; had a vision  
     when young, 164, 176, 177.  
 Virgnous, anchorite, 185, 234.  
 Virolecus, 173.  
 Visions of souls borne by Angels:  
     *see* Souls.  
 Visitation of monasteries, 221.  
 Vita comite, 212.  
 Vitae SS. Hib.: *see* Plummer, 81;  
     (Salm.): *see* Acta.  
 Vitreae (aquae), 215.  
 Vitreus liber, 167, 226.  
 Vitrified fort, 218.  
 Vitus (White), Steph., 85 *n.*  
 Voice of S. C., 113, 142, 205.  
 Volcanic eruption, 107.  
 Volumen, 210.  
 Voluntary death, 227.

- Vortex Breacain, 133, 214.  
 Vulgate text, 43, 48, 56 *n.*, 233 (*et saepe*); usually quoted, 203.
- Wagon, S. C. travelling in, 143, 180.  
 Walafridus Strabo, 235.  
 Wales, early Christianity in, 13; liturgy from, 50; traditions of, 47, 52.  
 Walsh, Ancient Place-names, 248.  
 War, the Great, 10.  
 Ward, Hugh, 72, 82.  
 Ware, Sir James, 71 *n.*, 82; *Antiq. of Ireland*, 221.  
 Warner, Sir G. F., 248.  
 Warren, Rev. J. E., on Antiphony of Bangor, 6; Celtic Liturgy, 17 *n.*, 31 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 36 *n.*, 39 *n.*, 41 *n.*, 42 *n.*, 65, 68 *n.*, 80, 81, 82, 195, 197, 203, 208, 213, 229, 235; *Missale Vetus Hib.*, 92.  
 Washing of hands and feet before noonday mass, 161; of feet, 96.  
 Wasserschleben, 201.  
 Watching St. Columba secretly, 230, 231\*.  
 Water in ditches, 33 *n.*; for Eucharist, 126; from a rock, 123, 131; hallowed by relics, 212; healed, 123, 132; transformed, 211; turned into wine, 51, 91, 123, 126, 193, 226.  
 Water monster driven off, 124, 142; Pimpernel, 16 *n.*  
 Waterford, 245.  
 Wattled buildings, 61, 211, 243.  
 Wattled construction, 33, 127, 201, 248.  
 Wattles for a church, 53 *n.*  
 Waxed tablets, 42 *n.*  
 Weapons borne to synods, 57.  
 Wear, river, 230.  
 Weeping horse, 232, 249.  
 Well, baneful, healed, 132, 213; of St. Columba, 54, 132; defiled by blood and a dead body, 120; worshipped as a god, 132.  
 Wells, holy, 213.  
 Welsh origin of schools in Ireland, 45; saints, 46; traditions, 47, 52.  
 Westmeath, county, 54, 209, 211.  
 Westwood, Professor, 228.
- Whale, great, 102.  
 Whirling the flagon, 102.  
 White, N. J. B., *Libri S. P.*, 21, 22 *n.*, 27, 81, 82; Stephen, 85 *n.*, 189.  
 White robes on a solemn day, 172; stone, miraculous properties of, 146, 217.  
 Wicklow harbour, 26.  
 Wife reconciled, 155.  
 Wilfrid, St., 66, 209, 231, 233, 249; light at his birth, 225; Offices of, 82, 209; taught fishing, 218.  
 Wind procured, 123, 134.  
 Windberg MS., 6.  
 Window, St. Cuthbert, 247.  
 Winds changed, 125, 153, 158, 159, 160\*, 219; controlled, 147.  
 Wine, bursting through cask, 122; miracle of, 58 *n.*, 90, 123, 126; new, 210.  
 Winterton, Lincs., 10.  
 Woman in childbirth relieved, 125, 155; driving sheep, 103, 104.  
 Women exempted from military service, 57 *n.*, 66, 74 *n.*; services of, 31 *n.*\*.  
 Wood buildings, 33, 34, 61, 122, 223, 248.  
 Wordsworth, Old Lat. Texts, 44 *n.*  
 Workshops, 35.  
 'Worms' (serpents), legends of, 216\*.  
 Worsaae, 195.  
 Worship of B. V. and SS., 68.  
 Wright, Writings of S. P., 22 *n.*, 28 *nn.*, 81, 82.  
 Writing, monastic, 42; out of doors, 35 *n.*; rooms for, 35.  
 Writing materials, 42 *n.*
- Xenia, 121, 122, 207.
- Ycolmkil (Iona), 59 *n.*  
 Yellow plague, 224.  
 York Minster, 247.  
 Yorkshire Arch. Journal, 216, 247.
- Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, 246.  
 Zeuss, J. C., *Gramm. Celt.*, 82, 207.  
 Zimmer, theory of, 22.







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